To William Fox
from James Walker

A REVIEW, &c.

Price Two Shillings and Six-pence.

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A

REVIEW

OF SOME OF

THE POLITICAL EVENTS

WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN

MANCHESTER,

DURING

THE LAST FIVE YEARS:

BEING A

SEQUEL TO THE TRIAL

OF

THOMAS WALKER, AND OTHERS,

FOR A

CONSPIRACY TO OVERTHROW

THE

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

OF

THIS COUNTRY,

AND TO

AID AND ASSIST THE FRENCH, BEING THE KING's ENEMIES.

BY THOMAS WALKER.

R.

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PREFACE.

SINCE the events of the following narrative, Meſſrs. Hardy, Tooke, Bonney, Kyd, Joyce, Holcroft, Thelwall, Richter and Baxter, have been indicted and acquitted of High Treaſon. The offence laid to their charge was of the ſame nature with that imputed to Meſſrs. Jackſon, Paul, Collier, myſelf, and others; and the only difference of the two caſes, was, that in the one, a Conſpiracy was the crime alledged; in the other, it was the means, by which the ſuppoſed crime of High Treaſon was to have been effected.—Both theſe charges have fallen to the ground. The enquiry, I truſt, will produce much good upon the public mind; and, ſo far, will, compenſate the defendants for the anxiety, ill treatment, and injurious expence, which they have ſuſtained.

Whether there be in law any preciſe definition of what is called a Conſpiracy, I have not yet been able to learn; but, from the

practice obſerved on theſe trials, it is of all others a ſpecies of accuſation the moſt to be dreaded by an Engliſhman. The evidence permitted to be given, appeared to conſiſt of every thing done, written, or ſpoken, at any time, or place, or by any perſons whatever, who, by the ingenuity of the Crown lawyers, could be connected with the deſign of which the parties ſtood accuſed. For inſtance, ſuppoſe a member of a political ſociety votes againſt any particular motion, and that he is in a minority: the queſtion is, of courſe, carried againſt his opinion, as being the act of the ſociety at large; the reſult is, that ſuch member may be tried for his life upon this very act, which he has thus endeavoured to prevent.—In anſwer, I know, it may be ſaid, that a defendant has only to call the other perſons preſent, in explanation of his conduct; which is all very true and plauſible, provided he knows before-hand the time, and place, and nature, of the fact alledged. But if, as in the caſe of the gentlemen above mentioned, the evidence is to begin for years before the day of trial, their papers ſeized, and themſelves impriſoned, the chance of a defence is doubtful indeed; as witneſſes

witneſſes may be dead, or may have left the kingdom, or may have forgotten every circumſtance in queſtion, not thinking, at the time it happened, they ſhould be ever called to give an account of it; which, as every one knows, is a very common anſwer in our courts of juſtice.

The delay of juſtice is a hackneyed topic; but its uncertainty is a much more ſerious cauſe of complaint. Thus, in a criminal proſecution, it is pretended, that the accuſed, having a copy of his indictment granted him, he is made acquainted with the matter of it, and ſo enabled to prepare for his defence. The truth of this is worth ſome enquiry. Of all the incidents attending any tranſaction, time and place are the moſt eſſential, as tending to fix it with certainty. When a man is indicted, the law ſays, that both the time and place of the act he is charged with, ſhall be ſpecified; and ſo it is upon the ſcroll of parchment, of which he has a copy allowed him for his information. But, when the cauſe comes to trial, the law is ſatisfied, *if any other day is proved*, to be that, on which the offence was committed; ſo that the information given in the indictment, if erroneous, has only

one effect; viz. to miſlead the accuſed, inſtead of inſtructing him. In the like manner, if the place proved, be different from the place laid in the indictment, it is all the ſame, provided both places are within the county where the aſſizes are held. In this ſtate of things, therefore, I ſhould be glad to know, how the accuſed is enabled with certainty to prepare for his defence.

With theſe trials are involved many other important queſtions: as connected with parliamentary reform, they are, alſo, of great public concern. Henceforward, it will not, I hope, be imputed to men as a capital crime, that they endeavoured to promote this object, becauſe they thought it neceſſary to their country's liberty. This queſtion was ſaid by the Lord Chancellor, during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, to have been entirely laid at reſt in the year 1782. But, how, and by whom? Did any committee of enquiry (which was Mr. Pitt's propoſition) prove to us, that the repreſentation of the people was not defective? Or, does the vote of a majority in the Houſe of Commons againſt *any* enquiry into the ſtate of their own body, prove to us, that that body

is

is in health? And how, otherwiſe, did the public receive any ſatisfaction on the ſubject? For this queſtion has been revived three times in parliament, ſince the year 1782. No man, however, can doubt but that it was intended to have been laid at reſt in the year 1794, when the Habeas Corpus Act was ſuſpended, and when ſo many innocent perſons were committed under that ſuſpenſion, in order to their being proſecuted for High Treaſon.—However, trial by jury was ſtill left us, and their lives were preſerved to the community. The conſequences of an oppoſite verdict to that delivered, would have been dreadful indeed: they may eaſily be conceived; the ſyſtem of terror being no novelty in the hiſtory of mankind.

Sir William Temple ſays, that, upon the firſt report of the Duke of Alva's expedition againſt the Flemings, "the trading people of "the towns and country began in vaſt num-"bers to retire out of the provinces, ſo, as "the Dutcheſs* wrote to the King, that, in a

* The Dutcheſs of Parma, who had the government of the Low Countries before the Duke of Alva, under Philip the Second.

"few

"few days, one hundred thouſand men had "left the country, and withdrawn both their "money and goods, and more were following "every day." Had Meſſrs. Hardy, Tooke, &c. been convicted, that event "would have made "up a force, which nothing in England could "look in the face with other eyes than of "aſtoniſhment, ſubmiſſion, or deſpair." * The advocates of parliamentary reform would not have waited for warrants of apprehenſion, and a trial upon conſtructive treaſon, while a ſingle veſſel could have been procured, and their families conveyed to any land of ſafety. Parliamentary reform would then, indeed, have been little heard of; and ſo far the queſtion might have been laid at reſt. Happily for thoſe, whoſe minds are imbued with public principles, the life of an Engliſh ſubject is better protected in this age, than it was a century ago.—Jurors, it is plain, are now more enlightened; and, in caſes of treaſon, the Statutes of William and of Anne are powerful protections to brave and innocent men. During the reigns of

* Obſervations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands, p. 34.

Charles

Charles, and James the Second, it ſeemed, as if proſecution and conviction were ſynonymous. If, in the preſent times, knowledge is more widely diffuſed than formerly, ſo that individual improvement has promoted and preſerved individual ſecurity, Why may we not expect that it ſhould at length effect univerſal freedom?

Without ſome new contrivance, hitherto unforeſeen, and while the legiſlature ſhall permit us to enjoy a trial by our equals, it will not be poſſible to ſtifle opinions and principles, whether civil or religious. In proſecutions by the way of miſdemeanour, ſome ſacrifices may be made: by means of ſpecial juries, and *ex officio* informations, our priſons may ſometimes be tenanted by thoſe, who deſerve a better fate. But, to conquer the minds of men, you muſt deſtroy the men themſelves; and this will not be found practicable while the voice of truth can be heard, and the proviſions of juſtice ſhall remain in force.

For myſelf, I am willing to hope that the cauſe of reform has been for ſeveral years, and is at this moment, progreſſive; becauſe the

intereſt and honour of England as a nation, are deeply concerned in its accompliſhment. Should this be attended with ſucceſs, even in the laſt period of my life, I ſhall look with ſatisfaction on the injuries, which have been attempted againſt my perſon, my family and my property, conſidering, that the failure of thoſe attempts may have had ſome ſhare in promoting the general benefit. But were it poſſible, that, at the approach of the nineteenth century, the people of England ſhould have wholly abandoned their national character, and, conveying the poiſon of corruption to their own lips, ſhould ſit down tamely under an eſtabliſhed deſpotiſm, thoſe few who have endeavoured to prevent ſo deadly a calamity, will, at leaſt, have the conſolation, "that as "men employ the talents God has given them "here, they ſhall accordingly receive their re-"wards at the cloſe of the day, when their ſun "ſhall ſet, and when night ſhall put an end "to their labours."

December 23, 1794.

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ERRATA.

P. 14, Note, laſt line, for *enact*, read *erect*.
P. 16, l. 18, for *earned*, read *learned*.
P. 23, Note, laſt line, for *univerſa*, read *univerſal*.
P. 54, l. 15, after the word *juſtice*, add, *he has lately left this country to ſettle in America*.
P. 78, Note, l. 2, dele Comma after *individuals*, and for *that*, read *to*.
Ibid. l. 18, for *the*, read *this*.
Ibid. l. 19, for *every other parent and guardian*, read *the parent and guardian of every other*.

A REVIEW

A REVIEW, &c.

IN the Preface to the Trial, which I publiſhed in the month of June laſt, I promiſed, if my health and leiſure ſhould permit, to lay before the public ſome facts, which ſhould tend to prove, that the charge of CONSPIRACY would be more applicable to the conduct of the proſecutors, than of the defendants. I proceed now to fulfil my promiſe, as well as the caution of my adverſaries, and the circumſtances of the times, will permit: and, I hope, the detail will prove not unuſeful, and therefore not unintereſting to the public.

Hiſtory was formerly written merely to relate the quarrels of Kings and Princes among themſelves, and to excite the reader to contemplate, with reverence and admiration, the characters and conduct of the great murderers of mankind. It was natural that thoſe ſhould write only for Kings and Heroes, who ſeemed to believe that the human ſpecies were created only for the ſervice and the pleaſure of Kings and Heroes. Hence a great, much the greateſt part of hiſtory, ancient and modern, is occupied in details, which convey no inſtruction but to heads of armies, and which, in the mind of a benevolent reader, excite no ſentiments but thoſe of ſorrow and execration.

Of late years, however, it has been ſuſpected, that ſociety and civil government either originally were, or ought to have been, inventions, intended to promote and render permanent the happineſs of the individuals who thus connect themſelves with each other: and that the rulers of ſtates

either were, or ought to have been, perſons appointed merely to frame and execute ſuch regulations as were beſt adapted to this purpoſe. Hence a claſs of writers has ariſen, who inveſtigate hiſtory for the purpoſe of aſcertaining, how far, and under what circumſtances, the various forms of government, and the perſons who have aſſumed the adminiſtration of them, have anſwered this ſuppoſed end of their creation: and the reſult of the inveſtigation has been, that civil government and civil ſociety, as they have been hitherto uſually conducted, have rather defeated, than promoted their original purpoſe; and the miſeries of the human ſpecies have kept pace with the vaunted progreſs of civilization. *

This general poſition being now pretty well eſtabliſhed, it has become important to aſcertain, in what part of the experiment the people have been deceived, and by what means the preſumed benefactors have become, in ſuch numerous inſtances, the plunderers and deſtroyers of mankind. How the *few* have permanently contrived to live in affluence and luxurious indulgence, while the *many* drag on an exiſtence laborious and miſerable, in ignorance and vice, in pain and poverty! It is no great wonder that any ſet of men, ſhould prefer their own intereſt and inclination to that of their neighbours, or be incited to benefit by the folly and puſillanimity of thoſe, who ſubmit to the yoke impoſed on them, and conſent to live, not for the advantage of themſelves, but of their oppreſſors. But, though a melancholy, it is a very inſtructive problem, to aſcertain, how it thus hap-

* Much light has been thrown upon this ſubject by, among other writers, Mr. Burke, in his Vindication of Natural Society: wherein, (through fear perhaps of ſhocking the ancient prejudices of his readers) he affects to treat as a paradox the ſide of the queſtion he has eſpouſed. But it is evident, that no man could pen the ſerious and weighty truths contained in that maſterly publication, without feeling the force of them. Voltaire and Rouſſeau, who were his contemporaries, have incidentally touched on the ſame ſubjects in various parts of their writings; and Paine and Barlow have trodden the ſame ground.

pens,

pens, that the great maſs, not merely of a community, but of mankind, ſhould for ages have tamely ſubmitted to this ſtate of things, and that millions ſhould ſo long have permitted themſelves to be plundered and ſlaughtered, to gratify the avarice, the ambition, the revenge, or the caprice of a few worthleſs individuals.

So far as the fair concluſions, from known facts, have hitherto been deduced, it appears, that the cauſes of national evils ariſe principally from too much authority entruſted for too long a period, to perſons not ſufficiently reſponſible to the people. If there be one important leſſon to be learnt from hiſtory, it is, that power ſhould be lodged no where without reſponſibility. Force uſually accompanies authority. Military bodies, oſtenſibly ſet on foot for the execution of the laws internally, and for external defence, have in reality enabled the rulers of nations to encreaſe gradually and indefinitely the authority originally committed to them, or ſubſequently acquieſced in. In moſt countries this authority, by mutual connivance, has been divided among two or three denominations of men, whoſe combination (notwithſtanding their occaſional quarrels) has hitherto kept the maſs of the people in brutal ignorance, and in abject dependance.

Sometimes perſons of ſuperior talents and foreſight have endeavoured to ſet bounds to the progreſs of power, and to emancipate their fellow citizens from the ſituation, in which they are uſually found; and the ſtruggles of the Friends to Liberty, on the one hand, and the abettors of ancient errors and ſacred abuſes, on the other, form the moſt inſtructive part of the hiſtory of mankind. We are now arrived at a period when the minutiæ of theſe conteſts are, in no ſmall degree, intereſting. How the friends of arbitrary power have proceeded in their endeavours to cruſh the firſt efforts, and to overpower the dawnings of Liberty—in what parts of their conduct they have ſucceeded—how far, and from what cauſes

they have failed—what errors the Friends of the People have been led into—what effects, upon the whole, their efforts have hitherto produced—and by what ſteps they are moſt likely to ſucceed in oppoſing the machinations of their enemies, the recovery of long loſt rights, the eradicating of ancient prejudices, and the eſtabliſhment of political government on the baſis of political truth—theſe are enquiries, in the preſent day, of infinitely greater moment than the murderous details of Hannibal and Cæſar, of Jenghiz Kahn, or Louis the XIVth, of Frederick the Great, of Catharine, or of any other among the earthly demons of Almighty vengeance.

There is no accurate, there is no practical knowledge but from detail. The general outline of fact and obſervation, muſt be drawn from a careful conſideration of the minute data, and the concluſions to which they lead. For this purpoſe, it is of importance, in momentous queſtions, that a ſummary of facts (however inſignificant the perſons to whom they relate) ſhould be carefully regiſtered and filled up; and though the concluſions they lead to, will not, perhaps, be obvious at firſt view, they will, ere long, be ſeen in connection; they will throw light upon each other, and their cauſes and uſes will not fail to be developed. Hence, as the French narrators of court intrigues have, for ſome years paſt, been in the habit of publiſhing not hiſtories, but memoirs, to aſſiſt the future Hiſtorian, I think the Friends of Liberty ſhould take care to publiſh ſimilar accounts of their experiments and endeavours, of their ſucceſs, and their ill ſucceſs, that there may be an ample ſupply of materials to eſtabliſh the concluſions they would wiſh to impreſs on future generations: details that may put the good man on his guard, direct his efforts, and prevent the waſte of time and trouble, and the unneceſſary ſacrifice of property and peace,

For the reaſons, therefore, which I have already given, it is greatly to be wiſhed, that we had complete accounts of the eſtabliſhment and proceedings of the various ſocieties in this

country, which have contributed in any degree to accelerate or retard the progreſs of freedom. Even if they have had no influence of this kind, it would be of importance to aſcertain their inefficacy in this reſpect. The ſocieties, which go under the name of "Reeves's Aſſociations," might on this occaſion be mentioned, as, by promoting public diſcuſſion, they unwittingly, but materially, promote the cauſe of freedom.

Aſſociations for the purpoſe of amending the preſent inadequate ſyſtem of repreſentation, have long ago been recommended by Mr. Burgh,* (an able writer, endeared to me, as the inſtructor of my youth) and commenced and ſupported with the moſt deliberate and ſyſtematic ſpirit by the Chiefs † of that

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* Political Diſquiſitions, V. 3. P. 428 to 434.

† Extract from the Courier of July 12, 1794.—"After ſo much diſpute about the letters of the Secretary of the Friends of the People; after the anxiety of the Society, and the laudable eagerneſs of the Members of that Society to prove the Committee of Secrecy of the Houſe of Commons wrong, it is natural to conclude that thoſe letters contain ſomething of an inflammatory, ſeditious, or, perhaps, traitorous tendency. It has already been obſerved, that no Member of the Friends of the People has in the leaſt diſapproved of their contents; and as for the danger with which the Secret Committee may inſinuate them to be fraught, What is it?—It is only, at moſt, an admiſſion that a Convention of Delegates from the different Societies inſtituted for the purpoſe of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, may be at ſome period a proper meaſure. Such a Convention, when connected with, and ſupported by, Correſponding Societies all over the kingdom, is, however, ſaid to be dangerous and unlawful. If it is ſo, it muſt be proper to know who firſt ſet this dangerous unlawful example. Leaving the notorious conduct of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond out of the queſtion, I will ſhew, that the very men who now condemn theſe meaſures, were the original promoters of them, and that while Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond have been, by ſome unaccountable overſight, made the ſcape-goats on this ſubject, the real blame, if there is any blame belonging to it, attaches, where it ſeems to be thought leaſt merited, to Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, the Duke of Portland, Earl Spencer, and the other Whig Alarmiſts, who now ſo zealouſly ſupport Government.

"In the year 1780, Aſſociations were formed in moſt of the counties, cities, and towns throughout England, for the purpoſe of petitioning the Houſe of Commons

that party, who are now attempting to ſtigmatize ſocieties of this deſcription by charges of ſedition, and of treaſonable practices.

The

Commons to reform the expenditure of public money, and to reform Parliament. Theſe Aſſociations appointed Committees of Correſpondence, (i. e. Corresponding Societies), ſome of which conſiſted of more than one hundred members; and they alſo voted for a National Aſſociation of Deputies, (i. e. a National Convention.) In illuſtration of the ſpirit and object of theſe meetings, I ſhall quote the ſpeech of Mr. Baker at that of Middleſex, 7th January, 1780, who now votes for the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, and is a bitter enemy to Conventions and Correſponding Societies. "He ſaid, that to give a validity and ſucceſs to this Petition, and that it might not be treated with inſolent neglect, it was judged neceſſary to come to ſome further Reſolutions, ſimilar to thoſe agreed to by the county of York. He ſaid, the reaſon why the former Petitions of Middleſex and other counties had failed of ſucceſs, was, that they had not followed them up, and given them ſupport, either by Aſſociations or Reſolutions of ſome ſtrong nature." He therefore moved—"for a National Aſſociation of Delegates, and a Committee of Correſpondence, (i. e. a National Convention and a Corresponding Society,") which motions were unanimouſly agreed to. (See Remembrancer, vol. ix. p. 108.

"Moſt of the other counties and towns came to reſolutions ſubſtantially the ſame. The following is a copy of that paſſed in Weſtminſter Hall:

"Reſolved *nemine contradicente*, That this meeting do approve of a National Aſſociation, on legal and conſtitutional grounds, to promote a reform in the expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to reſcind and aboliſh all ſinecure places and unmerited penſions, and to reſtore and ſecure to the people the freedom and independence of Parliament, as indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the State." A Committee of one hundred and three was then appointed, among whom were the following Gentlemen, who accepted the office—that is, they became Members of the Weſtminſter Correſponding Society, inſtituted for the purpoſe of procuring a Reform of Parliament, &c. by means of a National Convention, viz. Duke of Portland, Lord Temple, Lord Egremont, Lord Cholmondeley, preſent Lord Sydney, Mr. Burke, Lord Bulkeley, Mr. Baker, Mr. Hume, Mr. Almon, Mr. Adair, Mr. Thomas Grenville, &c.

"Mr. Burke was alſo a member of the Correſponding Society in Buckinghamſhire, and the Duke of Portland was the moſt buſy in promoting them all over the kingdom. Beſides being a member of more than a dozen of theſe bodies,

The London Conſtitutional Society, having the ſame object, was, for a long time, connected with thoſe county, and

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bodies, he was the Chairman of the Correſponding Society of the county of Nottingham.

"Theſe proceedings had not merely a Reform of Parliament for their object. They were taken with a view to reform all other branches of the State; and they were carried on in a tone far exceeding in boldneſs any thing of the preſent day.—The language then not only was, that Reform could never be obtained but by the efforts of the people themſelves, but moſt of the Petitions to Parliament ſet forth, that it would be derogatory from the honour and integrity of the Houſe of Commons, to grant the ſupplies till the grievances were redreſſed! The county of Middleſex unanimouſly reſolved to inſtruct their Repreſentatives to take the beſt meaſures for impeaching and bringing to juſtice the King's Miniſters; and many other counties reſolved, not that it was their opinion that annual Parliaments, &c. would be good things, but they reſolved that Parliaments ſhall be annual. "The Rights of the People"—"the Majeſty of the People," were then the faſhionable expreſſions; and ſeveral Gentlemen went ſo far as to ſay, that Ireland had only obtained her independence by the force of 60,000 bayonets, and that if Parliament did not comply with their Petitions, it would be neceſſary to take the ſame means to enforce them.

"Such was the temper of theſe Meetings, which not only formed Correſponding Societies, but ſent Delegates to a National Convention. Of that Convention which met both in March, 1780, and March, 1781, and which paſſed numberleſs Reſolutions in favour of Parliamentary Reform, I find by Mr. Wyvill's laſt publication, that the following Gentlemen, among others, were Members: Mr. Windham, Lord Althorpe, now Earl Spencer, Mr. Baker, Mr. R. M. T. Chiſwell, Mr. Thomas Grenville, Sir George Yonge, &c. &c."

"The following extract from a Proteſt entered by the Duke of Dorſet, Lords Aſhburnham, Hampden, &c. againſt the proceedings of the county of Surry, will ſhew that the very ſame objections were then made to theſe meaſures by the friends of Government, which are now brought forward againſt them by the very Alarmiſts who originally gave them birth.

"And we do moſt particularly proteſt againſt the Reſolutions of appointing a Committee of Correſpondence, with the declared purpoſe of forming General Aſſociations, apparently tending to over-rule the Legiſlature, to introduce

and diſtrict aſſociations, * which met for the purpoſe of exciting the people to require a parliamentary reform. Nor was any blame imputed, or any puniſhment threatened, to the individuals who compoſed theſe ſocieties, at a period when their preſent perſecutors were members of them. How far the principal alarmiſts in the miniſterial ariſtocracy of the preſent day were connected with theſe meetings, and their proceedings, that conſiſtent, perſevering, and ſteady friend of reform, the Rev. Mr. Wyvill, † has very properly diſcloſed to the public; and it would be deſirable, that his account ſhould be compleated from the earlier records of the Conſtitutional Society of London. This would contribute much to ſhew the tergiverſation of pretended patriots, and diſcloſe the political character and conduct of that ſet of men, whoſe trade it is to cajole the people, till they can ſpurn them.

The addreſſes to and from the ſocieties of France, and the Revolution Society of London, the members of the laſt mentioned ſociety have publiſhed at length, much to their honour, and much, as I think, to the credit of the perſons who appear actuated by ſuch ſentiments of general philanthropy and mutual good will.

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introduce meaſures inconſiſtent with, and ſubverſive of our preſent excellent Conſtitution, and leading to confuſion and anarchy."

"After ſuch authorities as theſe, it would ſurely have been very preſumptuous in the Secretary of the Friends of the People to have condemned a Convention of Delegates either as illegal, or as improper at any time; and it was perhaps ſetting himſelf too boldly forward againſt the example of Earl Spencer, and Mr. Windham, even to ſay that ſuch a meaſure would be raſh at preſent; for when they were Members of a Convention, the country was in much more diſtreſs, the people were much more diſcontented, and conſequently the danger was greater than at preſent.

"July 5, 1794. A FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE."

* Such as the Yorkſhire Aſſociation, the Quintuple Alliance, &c.

† Political Papers, chiefly reſpecting the Reformation of the Parliament of Great-Britain, three Vols. Octavo, of which are already publiſhed.

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The moſt detailed, however, though not a compleat account, of the proceedings of the numerous patriotic ſocieties, eſtabliſhed and continued within theſe two or three years, the public owe to the labours of the Committee of Secrecy of the Houſe of Commons, appointed in the preſent year, 1794, to examine and report upon the contents of the papers forcibly taken from the Secretaries, and others, belonging to thoſe ſocieties. In theſe reports, ſome papers are evidently omitted which the public would probably have been glad to have ſeen. But, in return, many of the extracts publiſhed by the Committee are clearly ſuch as the ſoreneſs and irritability of government, would not have permitted any other ſet of men to have ſent out into the world. The neceſſary attention to common prudence would have forbidden it.

I do not know which, among the bold and the very important truths contained in thoſe reports, are meant to be regarded as treaſonable: for it is evident, that there can be no ſuch crime as treaſon, until ſome overt act expreſſive of the treaſon, ſhall make it manifeſt. The eſſence of libel conſiſts in publication; and whether ſeditious and inflammatory ſentiments be diſperſed among the people, by A. or by B. ſeems immaterial; the crime, is, the diſperſion of them among the people. How far the Gentlemen who have publiſhed theſe reports have played into the hands of their opponents, and purſued the line of conduct, which the preſumed delinquents would moſt gladly have followed had they dared—how far they have been guilty of the very act they complain of, in the complaint itſelf, is not for me to determine. But ſurely it may be aſked, if the ſentiments they reprobate are improper to be publiſhed, why publiſh them? And if they are not improper to be publiſhed, why complain of them? At all events, however, we now know, and from the higheſt authority, what are the doctrines obnoxious to government; and the people are thus put into poſſeſſion of facts and ſentiments, of which they muſt form, for the preſent, their own opinion; while the future Hiſtorian will rejoice at a

circumſtance which has enabled him to give a more compleat account, and form a ſounder judgment of the events of theſe times than he could otherwiſe have hoped for. What is wanting to make theſe reports compleat, other perſons of better information ſhould endeavour to ſupply, ſo far as the circumſtances of the times will authorize. Perhaps the doctrine of libel may relax a little from its preſent ſeverity, and truth be permitted to ſhew herſelf among us, without being ſo frequently ſubject to the laſh of the law.——Being deſirous of contributing my ſhare of information on theſe ſubjects (the reſult of dear-bought experience) for the benefit of thoſe, who, influenced by the ſame motives, may become liable to the ſame perſecutions, I have ſat down to relate ſome of the political tranſactions which have taken place at Mancheſter, of late years; and I hope, that the reader will find matter for much important reflection in the narrative I am about to give.

Since the years 1715 and 1745, remarkable for the attempts of the Stuart family to regain the throne, the ſons of thoſe, who at that time abetted the Pretender, had with their hopes of ſucceſs given up all attachment to the remains of that degraded and wretched family. But the old doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were not entirely renounced, and very many among the inhabitants of Mancheſter and its vicinity adhered with the uſual bigotry to what are commonly called *High-Church* principles; principles, which, it is well known, moſt frequently deſcend with the names and properties of thoſe who profeſs them. Perſons who embrace theſe opinions, take for granted, that the religion and the politics of a nation muſt always go together: and if one ſet of men be diſpoſed to a different form of worſhip from another, it is held as a thing impoſſible for the two to concur in a common form of government. Thus are fellow citizens ſet at variance in this world for opinions that relate to another.

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The eſtabliſhed clergy, whoſe ſalaries and ſinecures depend upon the continuance of the public error in this reſpect, take care that the people ſhall not be undeceived; and brand with hereſy and innovation all thoſe who expreſs their doubts of a poſition, which, however vehemently aſſerted, has never yet been proved.

The commencement of party violence in Mancheſter may be dated from the year 1789, when the diſcuſſions reſpecting the Corporation and Teſt Acts occupied much of the public attention. In that year the Proteſtant Diſſenters conceived that from the apparent liberality of all ranks of men in matters of religion, the times were ſufficiently favourable for them to renew their applications to Parliament for a repeal of the Acts juſt mentioned, the majority againſt them on a former queſtion being not more than twenty votes. The Clergy, however, either were, or pretended to be, alarmed; and, on a ſudden, the fears of thoſe who cried out, "the Church was in danger," became as wild and abſurd as ever they were in the days of Sacheverell and his party. At laſt they became ſufficiently enthuſiaſtic in Mancheſter to call a meeting of thoſe particularly attached to their own opinions, under the title of Members of the Eſtabliſhed Church, in order (theſe are their own words) "to "conſider of and conſult about the impropriety of the ap-"plication to Parliament of the Proteſtant Diſſenters to ob-"tain a repeal of thoſe ſalutary laws, the Corporation and "Teſt Acts, the great bulwarks and barriers, for a century "and upwards, of our glorious Conſtitution in Church and "State." *

The meeting held in purſuance of this advertiſement was called a PUBLIC MEETING of the Members of the Eſtabliſhed Church. The room, however, was nearly filled

* The requiſition to the Boroughreeve and Conſtables to call this meeting was ſigned firſt by the *Churchwardens* of about half a dozen of the pariſh, and other churches in Mancheſter: a circumſtance ſufficiently evincing the activity of the Clergy upon this occaſion.

by the adherents of the High-Church party before any others could be admitted. To increaſe the ſolemnity, the Clergy attended in their gowns and caſſocks. Some oppoſition was made to the manner, in which the meeting had been called, and the indecent ſtratagem by which the room had been previouſly filled; and it was particularly objected, that, according to the rule which the town had adopted in the year 1788, the Boroughreeve and Conſtables had no right to call any meeting of the inhabitants, except a general one. * But the clamour of the High-Church men was violent beyond deſcription. Reſolutions prepared before-hand were put into the hands of the Boroughreeve, while he was in the midſt of his ſpeech, and explaining why he called the town together; and theſe reſolutions, ſeconded even before they were read, were as haſtily paſſed in the noiſe and confuſion which prevailed. Till the next morning, when they were printed, it is probable that few of the perſons preſent underſtood a ſyllable of what had been voted. †

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* Upon the 8th day of July, 1788, the following Reſolution was paſſed, at a numerous and reſpectable public meeting of the Inhabitants of the town of Mancheſter, viz.

"Reſolved,

"That the Boroughreeve and Conſtables have no right to call any meeting of the Inhabitants of this Town, but a general one; and that the preſent Boroughreeve and Conſtables, Mr. George Barton, Mr. Nathan Crompton, and Mr. James Entwiſle, have the very ſincere and particular thanks of this meeting, for calling a general meeting of the Inhabitants upon this very great and important queſtion."

† Among the Reſolutions voted was the following, viz.

"That the religion of the State be the religion of the Magiſtrate, without which no ſociety can be wiſely confident of the integrity and good faith of the perſons appointed to places of truſt and power."

If this be true, it ought to be carried further, and exclude from the Legiſlature all thoſe who are not of the religion of the State. The ſituation of the maker of laws, is much higher than that of the Magiſtrate, who only adminiſters them, and who is, or ſhould be, accountable to the public tribunals for every miſconduct. Surely, if there be no danger in a Diſſenter being

A conduct like this gave extreme diſguſt to myſelf and others, who, without being partial to any body of men, wiſhed to ſee thoſe of every religious perſuaſion placed upon an equal footing. Religious differences would ſoon become

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being a Member of Parliament, there can be none in his being a Country Juſtice, an Alderman, or an Exciſeman. But error is almoſt always inconſiſtent.

However, as the Reſolutions themſelves, with the ſtile of their introduction to the public, are fair ſpecimens of the temper and principles of the High-Church party at that time, I here preſent them to the reader:

"CONSTITUTION AGAINST INNOVATION.

"THE *real* Friends of this Town and Neighbourhood, Members of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, and *firm* in the OLD CAUSE, have again an Opportunity of congratulating their Fellow Citizens (this Day) on the complete Overthrow of the

"PROTESTANT DISSENTERS."

"And notwithſtanding the Legions of Diſſenting Congregations, headed by their reſpective PASTORS of this Town and Neighbourhood (who ſo indecently *foiſted* themſelves, *uninvited*, upon the Meeting) they were ROUTED, and DISAPPOINTED in their MARKED VIRULENCE and RESTLESS OPPOSITION *to the good* ORDER and CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEEDINGS of the MEETING, as well as to that ORDER which ought EVER to prevail in the STATE.

"THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FOR EVER.

"*Manchester*, 3*d February*, 1790."

"MANCHESTER, 3*d* FEBRUARY, 1790.

"AT a MOST RESPECTABLE and NUMEROUS MEETING of the "Town and Neighbourhood of MANCHESTER,

"Convened THIS DAY, at the HOTEL, by public Advertiſement, inſerted in both the Manchester Newſpapers, and at the written Requeſt of Seventy four Members of the Church of England, for the Purpoſe of *conſidering of, and conſulting about, the Impropriety of the Applicati.n to Parliament, of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, to obtain a Repeal of thoſe ſalutary Laws*,

"THE CORPORATION AND TEST ACTS,

"*the great Bulwarks and Barriers, for a Century and upwards, of our glorious Conſtitution in Church and State*," when the following Reſolutions were moved, ſeconded, twice read, and carried by a very large Majority, although

become of little importance, if all men were left to go to Heaven their own way, without perſecution or proſcription for their opinions. Theſe ſentiments prevailed among a great number of the inhabitants, who adjourned the ſame day (Feb. 3) to a different houſe, and proteſted againſt theſe High-Church proceedings.

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although the Proteſtant Diſſenters of the Town and Neighbourhood, attended in a very large Body, in direct Oppoſition to the Requiſition and Advertiſements, which convened only Members of the Eſtabliſhed Church.

"RESOLVED,

"I. That the Application to Parliament by the Proteſtant Diſſenters for the Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, is in our Opinion improper; becauſe we cannot but eſteem ſuch Repeal ſubverſive of our Conſtitution in Church and State.

"II. THAT an eſtabliſhed Religion is the Baſis and beſt Security of civil Society; and it is found expedient for the public Tranquillity, that the Religion of the State be the Religion of the Magiſtrate, without which no Society can be wiſely confident of the Integrity and good Faith of the Perſons appointed to Places of Truſt and Power. Hence the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors in requiring ſome public Profeſſion, ſome ſacred Teſt of Conformity to the Eſtabliſhment, for the due Exerciſe and Performance of Office, the Security of our Laws, and the Preſervation of our Conſtitution.

"III. THAT the Legiſlature of this Country hath an indubitable Right to enjoin ſuch Teſts, as they think will beſt preſerve our Religious and Civil Eſtabliſhments; and we approve and admire the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors in enacting the Receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Uſage of the Church of England as a ſufficient Teſt, and effectual Safeguard to our happy Conſtitution in Church and State.

"IV. THAT the Corporation and Teſt Acts give Strength and Permanency to our excellent Conſtitution, and ought to be tranſmitted unimpaired to the lateſt Poſterity.

"V. THAT the Teſt Laws are in no wiſe intended to oppreſs the Diſſenters from the Church, but as a Security againſt any Endeavours to overturn the Eſtabliſhment, and that as the Diſſenters from the Eſtabliſhment, become ſuch by their own free Choice, they have no juſt Ground of Complaint againſt theſe Barriers, which the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature hath thought proper to enact for the Preſervation of both Church and State.

Until this period the bickerings between the Friends to Liberty and the idolaters of authority in Manchester, were carried on with a ſpirit of oppoſition, indeed, but not of hatred. The Clergy, however, looked upon this liberality toward the Diſſenters, as an act of open hoſtility againſt themſelves. Sermons were every where preached againſt all who favoured the repeal of theſe acts of Parliament, much in the ſame way as of late they have been againſt what is called Sedition. This is a practice as pernicious as any that fanaticiſm or arbitrary power have ever employed: for the doctrines delivered to an ignorant multitude from the pulpit are not to be repelled by oppoſite doctrines, like fair public or printed arguments, but are like wounds in the dark which become fatal before a remedy can be procured.

Immediately after the Bill for the repeal of the Teſt Acts was thrown out, the party in Manchester who oppoſed that meaſure formed themſelves into a body, which they ſtiled the CHURCH AND KING CLUB. Their firſt meeting was held on the 13th of March, 1790, with ſolemnities as ridiculous as

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"VI. THAT as we conceive the Diſſenters to enjoy already a compleat and uninterrupted Toleration (which we are far from wiſhing to deprive them of) it becomes every Member of the Eſtabliſhed Church to take the Alarm at their Conduct, to be ready to meet them in Parliament, and oppoſe with Vigour every Endeavour and undue Influence exerciſed upon the Parliamentary Repreſentatives of this Country, eſpecially at the Eve of a General Election, for obtaining a Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts.

"VII. THAT this Meeting are ſenſible of their high Obligations to all thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, who lately in Parliament ſo ably ſtood forward in Defence of our Conſtitution, by oppoſing the Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts.

"VIII. THAT the particular Thanks of this Meeting are due to the Chairman for his candid, upright, and impartial Conduct, and that the Chairman leave the Chair, and the Meeting be diſſolved.

"EDWARD PLACE, Boroughreeve and Chairman."

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any to be found in the hiſtory of toryiſm.* They wore uniforms, with the repreſentation of the *Old Church* at Manchester engraved on their buttons. They appointed a committee for the admiſſion of members of ſuitable lives and converſations, and ſtruck medals to commemorate the fact, that the motion for the repeal had been negatived in Parliament. Every thing ſaid in favour of liberty or liberality, was to theſe gentlemen a declaration of war againſt the Conſtitution in Church and State. The ſtanding toaſt of their club, and in their private ſocieties, was, *Church and King, and down with the Rump*; and they ſeemed anxious to keep alive at their meetings the abſurd prejudices which diſtinguiſhed and diſgraced their predeceſſors of the laſt century.

Some months after this, (during which time theſe gentlemen kept up their clamour without oppoſition) viz. in the beginning of October, 1790, ſeveral merchants and manufacturers in Manchester, together with ſome members of the earned profeſſions, agreed to form another ſociety of a character very different from the Church and King club. We met monthly under the name of the MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY; and endeavoured, to the beſt of our power, to oppoſe the intolerant and ſlaviſh doctrines which were daily inſtilled into the people. The fundamental tenets of this ſociety were expreſſed in certain reſolutions agreed to on the 5th of October, 1790. Some time afterward (viz. in June 1792) one of the diviſions of the Church and King Club alſo (for at this time there were ſeveral,) thought proper to publiſh their political creed. That the reader may have an op-

* Their Advertiſement was as follows:

"MANCHESTER, *March* 5, 1790.

"The Members of the Church and King Club intend to dine at the Hotel on Saturday the 13th Inſtant, to celebrate the *glorious* Deciſion of the Houſe of Commons on Tueſday laſt upon the great Conſtitutional Queſtion, the Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts."

They were afterwards called by ſome wicked Wit, the TYTHE AND TAX CLUB.

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portunity of comparing and judging of the principles of theſe different ſocieties, I have contraſted the two publications juſt mentioned, in the note. *

To

* "MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY,

"Inſtituted October, 1790.

"RESOLUTION I.—That in every civil Community, the legitimate authority of the *Governors*, can only be derived from the conſent of the *Governed*.

"II. That the happineſs of the people governed ought to be the ſole end and aim of all civil government.

"III. That public honours and emoluments can only be due for ſervices conferred on the State.

"IV. That every perſon, from the higheſt to the loweſt, appointed to and accepting of any office or truſt for the benefit of the Community, is ultimately reſponſible to the people for the complete diſcharge of the duties of it.

"V. That *Actions* only, and not *Opinions*, are the proper objects of civil juriſdiction.

"VI. That no Law or Statute can be fairly made, which is not enacted by and with the conſent of a majority of the people, given either expreſsly by themſelves, or by means of a full, fair, and adequate Repreſentation.

"VII. That the People of Great Britain are not fully, fairly, and adequately repreſented in Parliament; and that the defective ſtate of the Repreſentation of this country, and the extended duration of Parliaments, require a ſpeedy and effectual reform, and are objects to which the attention of this Society ought to be particularly directed."

"THE CHURCH AND KING CLUB,

"Held at the houſe of Mr. Jonathan Foſter, the Weaver's Arms, on Cockpit-Hill, Mancheſter, think it neceſſary, openly, in the following Declaration, to ſtate their reaſons for publiſhing their Principles.

"DECLARATION.

"This Society beholds with infinite concern the many dangerous plots and aſſociations that are forming in different parts of this kingdom, for the avowed purpoſe of diſſeminating diſcord, and for ſubverting the order of one of the moſt beautiful ſyſtems of government, that the combined efforts of human wiſdom has ever yet been able to accompliſh.

To the Manchester Constitutional Society their adversaries imputed as a political offence never to be forgiven, that they approved of the French Revolution, and the then constitution of that country; and as we professed it to be the principal object

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"When we see such *deadly wounds* aimed at our glorious constitution, we consider it the duty of all good citizens, publicly to step forward, and express their abhorrence of the malevolent and most wicked intentions of those disappointed men, who are audaciously clamorous for a reform in parliament, but whose real object is to excite civil commotion in this our *happy* and well-governed state.

"We are far from believing, should they ever effect their purpose, (which Heaven forbid!) that the change would be for the better, but must always regard those persons as the bane of civil society, who have given so many proofs of an innate propensity for power, and of that restless ambition which has long been their most distinguished characteristic.

"PRINCIPLES OF THE CHURCH AND KING CLUB.

"It is a principle of this Society, to revere the Constitution and obey the King, according to the Laws of that Constitution.

"It is a principle of this Society, to reprobate the wild theories and seditious doctrines respecting the Rights of Man, which have been lately promulgated by the enemies of our most excellent constitution in church and state, as they are subversive of all civil authority; and that, if they were put in practice, would tend to nothing but anarchy and confusion, which is contrary to all order.

"It is a principle of this Society, that the Constitution of this country was renovated and fixed at the time of the glorious Revolution.

"It is a principle of this Society, that the Constitution has not since that time been essentially departed from.

"It is a principle of this Society, that the Legislature of this country ought ever to consist of King, Lords, and Commons.

"It is a principle of this Society, that all other modes of legislation, than by King, Lords, and Commons, has always been found, by experience, repugnant to the genius of Englishmen.

"It is a principle of this Society, that the Establishment in Church and State, is not to be altered but by the Legislature itself; consequently any other mode would be attended with extreme danger.

"It

object of our wiſhes and purſuits, that there might be ſome ſpeedy and effectual reform in the defective repreſentation of the people of Great Britain, they urged this as a proof of our deſigns to overturn the conſtitution of our own country, and to introduce a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion.

Theſe are now become the hackneyed topics of ariſtocratical calumny. They have come upon us, as they have upon all the worthieſt and beſt men of the country; and if there be any crime in the caſe, we muſt certainly plead guilty. I believe nothing has yet happened which has materially altered our ſentiments on theſe ſubjects.

In the affairs of France, we ſaw, as we thought, the moſt perfect and yet the moſt peaceful revolution to be found in

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"It is a principle of this Society, that it is requiſite in every good governed ſtate, that there muſt exiſt an eſtabliſhed Church, and that no one is to bear any office, either in church or ſtate, but ſuch as will conform, and be in communion with that church.

"It is a principle of this Society, that the Corporation and Teſt Acts are the great bulwarks of our conſtitution in church and ſtate, therefore ought never to be repealed.

"It is a principle of this Society, that Toleration in religious matters is to be extended to Diſſenters of every denomination.

"Finally, it is the fixed determination of this Society, at all times and in all places, to avow and maintain the above principles to be truly conſtitutional.

"Signed by Order of the Society.

"W. NIGHTINGALE, Preſident."

"*Mancheſter, June* 23, 1792."

Thoſe who wiſh to ſee a collection of the abſurdities which have been publicly avowed by the adherents of *Church and State Politics*, in the enlightened kingdom of Great Britain toward the cloſe of the 18th century, will do well to procure the Reſolutions on the ſubject of the Corporation and Teſt Acts of the various meetings in ſupport of thoſe *bulwarks* of our conſtitution. They are collected and printed in octavo, for Meſſ. Rivingtons, St. Paul's Church-yard.

the hiſtory of mankind. The cruelties of the *Lettres de Cachet*, the injuſtice of the *Droit d'Aubaine*, the perſecutions of the Proteſtants, the exactions of the Intendants, were repealed, diſavowed, and ſtigmatized. Monopolies of all ſorts, which bore ſo heavy upon the poor, were aboliſhed, and they groaned no longer under the compulſory tax of the *Gabelle*, or the ſervitude of the *Corvées*. Heaps of barbarous and antiquated laws, differing from each other in the various diſtricts of the country, were abrogated; and the innumerable convents of both ſexes were forbidden to receive freſh ſacrifices to that worſt of ſuperſtitions. The hereditary judicature of the parliaments, by which juſtice was made a property in the hands of a few families, was commuted for trial by jury; and a ſyſtem of repreſentation was arranged for the whole country, with ſcarcely any oppoſition, and without any commotion.* Comparing this ſtate

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* That the reader may be fully aware of the number and extent of the abuſes which exiſted under the old government of France, I have added, as an appendix, the teſtimony of one who cannot now be ſuſpected of much partiality in favour of the Revolution. Mr. Arthur Young, to whom I allude, publiſhed within one year his *Tour to France*, and *The Example of France a Warning to Britain*. The former full of democratic paſſages, and of invectives againſt the miſery of the common people, and the inſolence, ignorance, and oppreſſive conduct of the privileged orders of France. The latter work is of an oppoſite complexion; containing an abuſe of the French Revolution, ſo violent, and ſo declamatory, as to diſguſt by its malignity even many of that claſs of readers who were prepared to admire it, and who might not otherwiſe have been diſguſted at the ſhallow ſophiſtry, ſo evident in every page of that weak and wicked performance.

How happens it, that, in the ſpace of a few months, this extraordinary converſion, this public recantation of opinion, ſhould have proceeded from a man who ſeemed ſo deeply impreſſed with the neceſſity of a change of government in France, and ſo querulous too reſpecting the neglect of the public toward his own ſupereminent abilities, and the enormous weight of taxes with which his ſlender patrimony was burthened, by the oppreſſive finance of his own country? How happens it, that the ſame name could appear to *the 86th number of the Annals of Agriculture, the Tour into France, and the Example of France a Warning to Britain?*

Some

ſtate of things with the three long and laſting tyrannies of Louis XIII. XIV. and XV. was it criminal to look with delight and admiration on the proſpect before us, of ſo many millions of men juſt reſtored to their rights from a condition of abject ſlavery, in which the nation had continued from the year 1614? In the year 1790, France appeared to have acquired a ſtate of freedom equal to that of America, but without the ſame ſtruggle. At the Confederation of Paris, July 14th, 1790, the King, the Army, and the great body of the People, accepted and ratified this Conſtitution. On the 14th of July following, the ſame ceremony took place, and the ſame harmony (notwithſtanding the King's flight, in June) appeared between him and the people. Theſe circumſtances, doubtleſs, affected us in common with all other Engliſhmen, who looked back to and admired the acts of their forefathers. But the ſame ſentiments and feelings were not to be expected from thoſe, whoſe anceſtors had favoured the families, and who themſelves admired the maxims, of the houſe of Stuart *.

On

Some time *previous* to the laſt-mentioned publication, a Board of Agriculture was in contemplation, and a ſhort time *after*, when the Board was formed, his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint Mr. Young the Secretary, with, I am told, a ſalary of 500*l.* a year. Sir John Sinclair, who, in the preface to his Hiſtory of the Revenue, had complained moſt grievouſly of the illiberality of Mr. Pitt, but had afterwards found reaſon to vote with the Miniſtry, was made Preſident of this new (may it prove an uſeful) inſtitution.—"What makes all doctrines plain and clear?" &c. &c.

I do not mean to approve of all the extracts which I ſhall give as an appendix; for I think much more favourably of the general proceedings of the French when the extracts in queſtion were penned, than even Mr. Young did: but I do not know ſo complete and intereſting a detail, in the Engliſh language, of the abuſes of the old French government as Mr. Young has there given.

* I have left unnoticed the uſual declamations about the calamities of Paris, the maſſacres of September, and the other horrors that are ſo frequently attributed to the French as a nation, and to the ſtruggle for liberty as the cauſe of them. But I would aſk, Which of theſe calamities took place before the con-

cert

On the 14th of July, 1791, the French Revolution was celebrated in London and other places. The Conſtitutional Society of Mancheſter adverti ſed a dinner for the ſame purpoſe, taking precautions which very baſe and unmanly inſinuations had rendered neceſſary.* We particularly deſired that no perſons would wear about them, or ſay, any thing which might create animoſity between us and thoſe who were of oppoſite ſentiments. We wiſhed peace and harmony to prevail on all ſides, and to leave opinions to find their own value. Not ſo our adverſaries; for, on the morning before this, a moſt inflammatory

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cert of Princes; before the treaty of Pilnitz; before the well-known Manifeſto by the Duke of Brunſwick, on the part of our *faithful* ally his Majeſty of Pruſſia; before the *actual invaſion* of France by the continental Deſpots; and, finally, before the *treacherous* ſurrender of ſome important fortreſſes into their hands?

"*June* 15, 1791.

* "The MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY have their Annual Dinner at the Bridgewater Arms, on Thurſday the 14th day of July next, being the Anniverſary of the French Revolution; at which time and place the company of the Friends of Freedom is requeſted.

"GEORGE LLOYD,
"THOMAS WALKER,
"JAMES DARBISHIRE,
"THOMAS COOPER,
"GEORGE PHILIPS,
"THOMAS KERSHAW, } Stewards.

"Tickets 3*s.* 6*d.* each, to be had at the Bar of the Bridgewater Arms, and at Meſſ. Falkner and Birch's, Stationers, in the Market-place.

"Dinner at three o'clock preciſely.

"The object of this meeting being not only to commemorate the inſtitution of the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society, but alſo to celebrate, as a ſubject of exultation, the overthrow of deſpotiſm, and the eſtabliſhment of civil and religious liberty in France,—the Stewards requeſt that no gentleman will on that day move or introduce for diſcuſſion any queſtion relating to the political parties or local concerns of this country; or wear any cockade, or other badge of diſtinction, which may give unneceſſary offence to thoſe of our fellow citizens who have not yet been led to feel as ardently upon this great event as ourſelves."

hand,

hand-bill was diſtributed throughout the town, containing, amongſt others, this ſentence, that "if Engliſhmen had the "ſpirit they uſed to have, they would, on the 14th of July, "pull the houſe we aſſembled at over our heads; and the "brains of every man who dined there, would much be im-"proved by being mingled with brick and mortar."

Recollecting ſince the horrid tranſactions which paſſed on this ſame day at Birmingham, and the manner in which, and the deſcription of perſons by whom they were conducted, I have been ſomewhat ſurprized that nothing of the ſame kind was attempted with us. But the ſtate of things was not favourable to ſuch an attempt at that ſeaſon, however deſirous ſome perſons might be of making it. I had in a conſiderable degree the police of the town in my own hands as Borough-reeve,* and moſt probably could have prevented any miſ-chief

* The town of Manchester has neither mayor nor bailiffs, nor any other officers of a body corporate. The regulation of the police is in three officers, viz. a Boroughreeve or Head-borough, and two Conſtables, who perhaps were a century ago ſufficient to keep the peace among the inhabitants of their juriſdiction.

Theſe officers are annually elected in October by a jury of the Leet ſummoned by the Lord of the Manor.

The Borough-reeve is conſidered as the principal officer, and in that capacity preſides at public meetings, is applied to upon all public buſineſs, has the diſtribution of certain charities, &c. &c.

From the immenſely increaſed population within the laſt few years, the Magiſtrates of the county have annually ſworn in about two hundred additional Conſtables, who are called Special Conſtables.

If this were the proper place, I think I could ſhew that the town of Manchester owes much of its wealth and importance to its unincorporated character, and that, by the above-mentioned ſyſtem, public order might be as fully maintained as it ever was in the beſt regulated corporations in England.

It has been obſerved with great truth, that towns where manufactures are moſt flouriſhing, are ſeldom bodies corporate, commerce requiring univerſa encourage-

chief by timely exertion. This was well known. The ſcheme therefore, if any was in contemplation, proved abortive, and the day paſſed over in the utmoſt tranquillity. But, from the experience of what the unhappy families at Birmingham ſuffered in their property, how narrowly ſome of them eſcaped with their lives, and from the ſymptoms of a perſecuting ſpirit in the town of Mancheſter, which were betrayed by the hand-bill before mentioned, and from the way in which the account of the Birmingham riots was received and ſpoken of in this town, I determined to be upon my guard, if any occurrences of a ſimilar nature ſhould ever take place in Mancheſter.

The two newſpapers uſually publiſhed in that town, began now to refuſe communications on the ſide of liberty. One of them (publiſhed by Harrop) had always been violently de-

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encouragement, inſtead of excluſive privileges to the natives and freemen of a particular diſtrict. Thoſe who firſt introduced the Cotton manufacture into Lancaſhire, were proteſtant refugees, who probably found ſmall encouragement for themſelves and their induſtry amongſt the corporate towns of England. In the ſame manner, the Silk trade was eſtabliſhed by the French emigrants of the laſt century, in Spital-fields, as being in the ſuburbs and without, what are called, the *Liberties* of the city of London.

In Languedoc, and other Proteſtant parts of France, there are perſons who ſtill talk of their relations in this country. Various Watch-makers, deſcendants of thoſe who were perſecuted for their diſſent from the Catholic church and arbitrary government, are ſtill to be found in the pariſhes of St. Anne Soho, and St. Martin's in the Fields, which, as is well known, were conſidered at that period as being out of the metropolis.

It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve that this country owes much of its commercial character and proſperity to the freedom it was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs; that the Woollen manufacture was principally eſtabliſhed in conſequence of the ſuperſtition and cruelty of Philip the Second of Spain; and that we are equally indebted to the extreme folly and wickedneſs of that French Monarch who revoked the Edict of Nantz for ſeveral valuable manufactures beſides the Silk and Cotton. Theſe ideas, though not immediately connected with what I had to ſay reſpecting the Borough-reeve, ſo naturally occurred at this moment, that I could not paſs on without laying them before the reader.

voted

voted to the High-Church party, and the other (Wheeler's) was eaſily induced to adopt the ſame conduct.* Some members of the Conſtitutional Society, therefore, propoſed to Mr. Matthew Falkner, a member of that Society, to commence a new paper, under the name of the Mancheſter Herald, which was begun on the 31ſt of March, 1792, and continued to the 23d of March, 1793, with a degree of ſpirit and reputation that will not ſoon be forgotten in this neighbourhood.

On the 13th of April, 1792, Mr. Cooper and Mr. James Watt, jun. on the part of the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society, preſented an Addreſs to the Society of Jacobins at Paris, which, on the 30th of the ſame month, produced a moſt virulent invective from Mr. Burke, in the Houſe of Commons. On the 8th of May, the Mancheſter Society publiſhed tranſlations of the Addreſs and the Reply to it; for which, and for a defence of their proceedings on this occaſion, I refer to "Cooper's Reply to Burke's Invective," a publication which, from the very favourable acceptance of the public, was certainly worthy of an anſwer, but to which Mr. Burke has not yet condeſcended to reply, either from want of inclination, or, more probably, from want of argument.

As the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society was now brought forward very conſpicuouſly before the public, it became the object of much converſation and calumny. To prevent

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* There is not a more formidable enemy to political error than a newſpaper impartially conducted. All parties in this country are aware of this. Hence the tax upon paper, the tax upon newſpapers, the penalty on lending papers, the threats and inducements uſed toward the publicans throughout the kingdom, to reject ſome and take in others. Hence the proſecutions which have been carried on againſt the Argus, the Morning Chronicle, the Mancheſter, the Sheffield, and the Leiceſter papers. Hence, in many public-houſes throughout the kingdom, you ſee none but ſuch contemptible papers as the Sun and the True Briton.

The ſame ſpirit has laid a very heavy tax on imported books, and granted a bounty on their export.

miſtake and miſrepreſentation, the members thought it neceſſary about this time to publiſh the following declaration of their views and intentions:—

"*Bull's Head Inn, Manchester, May* 15, 1792.

"At a Meeting of the MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY,

"Reſolved,

"That the great object of this Society is, and always has been, to effect a reform in the preſent very inadequate, and corrupt ſtate of the Repreſentation of the people.

"That as the defective ſtate of the repreſentation of the people has introduced into the conſtitution of this country all the abuſes which deform it, this Society earneſtly invite their fellow citizens to a ſerious and diſpaſſionate conſideration of this moſt important ſubject, which, they are happy to learn, will be brought before the Houſe of Commons in the next Seſſion of Parliament.

"That the following Declaration be laid before the Public:—

"DECLARATION.

"The views of the Manchester Conſtitutional Society having been lately much miſrepreſented, we think it neceſſary to ſtate to the public the general principles, on which our aſſociation is founded; and the purpoſes, which we aim at accompliſhing.—The political maxims, in which individually and collectively we agree, are—

"That the power veſted in every government is derived from the people—That the perſons who exerciſe it are ultimately reſponſible to them—and that the happineſs of the people ſhould be the ſole end of every government.

"We diſclaim any intention of endeavouring the overthrow of the Britiſh Conſtitution—OUR AIM is to reſtore the conſtitution to its original purity, by removing the corruptions and

and abuſes that deform it, and which render its practice at perpetual variance with its applauded theory. We are particularly anxious, that the Houſe of Commons ſhould be in reality, what it is in name, and pretenſion, the Repreſentative Body of the Commons of Great Britain; and that the members of that Houſe ſhould owe their ſeats to the good opinion, and free ſuffrage of the people at large, and not to the proſtituted votes of venal and corrupted boroughs. As it is the boaſt of our conſtitution, that it combines the advantages of three ſeparate eſtates, it is eſſential to its purity that the rights of the Commons ſhould be preſerved inviolate; and that neither the King, by his Miniſters, nor any Peer of the realm, ſhould influence the choice of thoſe who are the oſtenſible repreſentatives of the people. It is a matter of notoriety that TWO HUNDRED and FIFTY-FOUR members of the Houſe of Commons, are elected BY LESS THAN SIX THOUSAND PERSONS,* and that a great number of the boroughs which return theſe members are at the diſpoſal of the Peerage, or under other unconſtitutional influence.

"We are farther deſirous, that the moſt effectual means ſhould be adopted of ſecuring to the people the integrity of their repreſentatives. For this end, the duration of parliaments, ſo unconſtitutionally extended to ſeven years, ought to be contracted; in order that the exerciſe of the right of appointing their repreſentatives may more frequently revert to the people; and that the members of the Houſe of Commons, knowing that the renewal of their truſt muſt depend on an honeſt diſcharge of it, may feel it their intereſt, as well as their duty, to do the buſineſs of their conſtituents with fidelity. On the ſubject of the corrupt influence which exiſts in the government of this country, we are happy to uſe the authority of Mr. Burke, who, on preſenting ſome years ago to the Houſe of Commons, "A Plan for the better Se-

* The moſt numerous meeting of the Commons, in our recollection, was 502 members.

" curity of the Independence of Parliament, and the œco-
" nomical Reformation of the Civil and other Eſtabliſh-
" ments," made this animated declaration,—" *What I con-*
" *feſs was uppermoſt with me, what I bent the whole force of*
" *my mind to, was the reduction of that corrupt influence, which*
" *is itſelf the perennial ſpring of all prodigality, and of all diſ-*
" *order; which loads us more than millions of debt; which*
" *takes away vigour from our arms, wiſdom from our councils,*
" *and every ſhadow of authority and credit from the moſt ve-*
" *nerable parts of our conſtitution.*" The teſtimony of the Houſe of Commons may alſo be quoted to the ſame purpoſe, which adopted, not many years ago, the following reſolution, which was ſupported by Mr. Burke, viz.—" *That the*
" *influence of the crown has increaſed, is increaſing, and ought*
" *to be diminiſhed.*" We cannot believe that this corrupt influence is ſince diminiſhed; for it appears that even ſome of thoſe whom it formerly alarmed, are now drawn within its vortex.

" As the preſent tumultuary mode of electing the members of the Houſe of Commons, is diſgraceful to a well regulated ſociety, and fatal, in its conſequences, to the morals, and, ſometimes, even to the lives of our fellow citizens, we conceive it highly neceſſary that this defect ſhould be remedied, and that a peaceable, and, at the ſame, time an effectual plan, ſhould be eſtabliſhed for collecting the ſenſe of the public on ſuch occaſions.

" Inſtead of endeavouring to excite ſedition, we are ſolicitous, by a timely and well directed reform of abuſes, to remove all pretences for it; and we are convinced, that by acting on ſuch principles, and ſteadily adhering to ſuch objects, we give the beſt proof of our regard to the conſtitution, and to the peace and happineſs of this country. We cannot agree with thoſe, who, affecting a blind veneration for the defects as well as excellencies of our government, ſtrenuouſly oppoſe every attempt to eradicate evils long felt and complained of. The ſeaſonable removal of

abuſes would be the ſureſt pledge of public tranquillity; whilſt their continuance may eventually provoke popular indignation, and endanger even the exiſtence of the Britiſh Conſtitution.*

"Though we rejoice at the Revolution which has lately taken place in France, we do not pledge ourſelves to an approbation of all the meaſures which have been there adopted; with the particular reaſons of ſome of them we are not ſufficiently acquainted; and we moſt ſincerely deplore any calamities with which the change of the French Conſtitution may have been attended; neither would we at all inſinuate that ſuch a revolution as was made neceſſary by the wickedneſs of the former government of France, is requiſite for the very different circumſtances of Great Britain: But without comparing the wretched ſtate of the one country with the happier condition of the other, we rejoice as Men, that ſo many millions of our fellow creatures, formerly debaſed by ſlavery, are at length emancipated from it: and that a nation, whoſe government was once buſied in creating projects for the deſtruction of the human race, has diſplayed to the world the glorious example of renouncing all ſchemes of ambition and conqueſt, and avowing a ſyſtem of UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE.

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* Mr. Burke has expreſſed himſelf in a manner ſo appropriate to our purpoſe in his Speech of February the 11th, 1780, from which we have already made an extract, that we cannot do better than uſe his own words on this occaſion:—"I do moſt ſeriouſly put it to adminiſtration to conſider the wiſdom of a timely "reform: Early reformations are amicable arrangements with a friend in "power: Late reformations are terms impoſed on a conquered enemy:—"Early reformations are made in cool blood: Late reformations are made "under a ſtate of inflammation. In that ſtate of things, the people behold in "government nothing that is reſpectable: they ſee the abuſe, and they "will ſee nothing elſe: they fall into the temper of a furious populace, "provoked at the diſorder of a houſe of ill-fame: they never attempt to "correct, or regulate: they go to work by the ſhorteſt way—they abate the "nuiſance: they pull down the houſe——This is MY OPINION with "regard to the TRUE INTEREST OF GOVERNMENT."

"Such

"Such are our PRINCIPLES, our WISHES, and our DESIGNS. We have no SELFISH VIEWS—no PARTIAL INTERESTS to promote.—We are conſcious of no motive but the public good; and we can have no intereſt but in the public welfare.—The claims which we aſſert are guaranteed to us, not only by reaſon and juſtice, but by the CONSTITUTION ITSELF.—The neceſſity of an equal Repreſentation of the people in Parliament is admitted by the enlightened, and good of EVERY denomination; and as this is the GREAT OBJECT of our Aſſociation, we call upon our fellow-citizens to co-operate with us in the proſecution of our deſign, which may truly be called THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE.

"Signed by order, and on behalf of the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society.

"THOMAS WALKER, Preſident.
"SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary."

Within a week after the publication of this paper, his Majeſty's Miniſters iſſued a Proclamation againſt ſeditious writings, publications, and correſpondencies; a ſtate paper ſo curious, that even well known as it now is, I think it right to give a copy of it to the reader in this place, more eſpecially as it is here neceſſary to illuſtrate ſome other proceedings of the Societies.

"From the LONDON GAZETTE.

"Tueſday, May 22, 1792.

"By the KING, a PROCLAMATION.

"GEORGE R.

"Whereas divers wicked and ſeditious writings have been printed, publiſhed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, tending to excite tumult and diſorder, by endeavouring to raiſe groundleſs jealouſies and diſcontents in the minds of our faithful and loving ſubjects, reſpecting the laws and happy conſtitution of Government, civil and religious, eſtabliſhed in this kingdom; and endeavouring to vilify and to bring into contempt the wiſe and wholeſome proviſions made at the time of

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the glorious Revolution, and ſince ſtrengthened and confirmed by ſubſequent laws for the preſervation and ſecurity of the rights and liberties of our faithful and loving ſubjects: And whereas divers writings have alſo been printed, publiſhed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, recommending the ſaid wicked and ſeditious publications to the attention of all our faithful and loving ſubjects: And whereas we have alſo reaſon to believe that correſpondencies have been entered into with ſundry perſons in foreign parts, with a view to forward the criminal and wicked purpoſes above mentioned: And whereas the wealth, happineſs and proſperity of this kingdom do, under divine providence, chiefly depend upon a due ſubmiſſion to the laws, a juſt confidence in the integrity and wiſdom of parliament, and a continuance of that zealous attachment to the government and conſtitution of the kingdom, which has ever prevailed in the minds of the people thereof: And whereas there is nothing which we ſo earneſtly deſire as to ſecure the public peace and proſperity, and to preſerve to all our loving ſubjects the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, both religious and civil: we, therefore being reſolved, as far as in us lies, to repreſs the wicked and ſeditious practices aforeſaid, and to deter all perſons from following ſo pernicious an example, have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to iſſue this our royal proclamation, ſolemnly warning all our loving ſubjects, as they tender their own happineſs, and that of their poſterity, to guard againſt all ſuch attempts, which aim at the ſubverſion of all regular government within this kingdom, and which are inconſiſtent with the peace and order of ſociety; and earneſtly exhorting them at all times, and to the utmoſt of their power, to avoid and diſcourage all proceedings, tending to produce riots and tumults; and we do ſtrictly charge and command all our magiſtrates in and throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do make diligent enquiry, in order to diſcover the authors and printers of ſuch wicked and ſeditious writings as aforeſaid, and all others who ſhall diſperſe the ſame: and we do further charge and command all our ſheriffs, juſtices of

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the peace, chief magiſtrates in our cities, boroughs and corporations, and all other our officers and magiſtrates throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do, in their ſeveral and reſpective ſtations, take the moſt immediate and effectual care to ſuppreſs and prevent all riots, tumults and other diſorders, which may be attempted to be raiſed or made by any perſon or perſons, which, on whatever pretext, they may be grounded, are not only contrary to law, but dangerous to the moſt important intereſts of this kingdom: and we do further require and command all and every our magiſtrates aforeſaid, that they do from time to time, tranſmit to one of our principal ſecretaries of ſtate, due and full information of ſuch perſons as ſhall be found offending as aforeſaid, or in any degree aiding or abetting therein; it being our determination for the preſervation of the peace and happineſs of our faithful and loving ſubjects, to carry the laws vigorouſly into execution againſt ſuch offenders as aforeſaid.

"Given at our court at the queen's houſe, the twenty-firſt day of May, one-thouſand-ſeven-hundred-and-ninety-two, in the thirty-ſecond year of our reign.

"GOD ſave the KING." *

About

* Curious as this proclamation is, it is not ſingular:

The following general warrant was iſſued by Chief Juſtice Scrogg—and it is a circumſtance not unworthy of notice, that he was afterwards impeached by the Commons for this, amongſt other reaſons.

"Whereas there are diverſe ill-diſpoſed perſons, who do daily print and publiſh many ſeditious and treaſonable books and pamphlets, endeavouring thereby to diſpoſe the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects to ſedition and rebellion; and alſo infamous libels, reflecting upon particular perſons, to the great ſcandal of his majeſty's government. For ſuppreſſing whereof, his majeſty hath lately iſſued out his royal proclamation; and for the more ſpeedy ſuppreſſing the ſaid ſeditious books, libels, and pamphlets, and to the end that the authors and publiſhers thereof may be brought to their puniſhment:

"Theſe are to will and require you, and in his majeſty's name to charge and command you, and every of you, upon ſight hereof, to be aiding and aſſiſting

About this time (viz. May 24th, 1792,) commenced the patriotic, and on the 6th of June, 1792, the Reformation Society of this town. As theſe were afterwards connected with the Conſtitutional Society, and ſtill more, the objects of

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aſſiſting to Robert Stephens, meſſenger of the preſs, in the ſeizing on all ſuch books and pamphlets as aforeſaid, as he ſhall be informed of, in any bookſeller's or printer's ſhops, or warehouſes, or elſewhere whatſoever, to the end they may be diſpoſed as to law ſhall appertain. Alſo, if you ſhall be informed of the authors, printers, or publiſhers of ſuch books, or pamphlets, as are above mentioned, you are to apprehend them, and have them before one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, to be proceeded againſt according to law. Dated this 29th day of November, 1679.

" To Robert Stephens, meſſenger of the preſs, and to all mayors, ſheriffs, bailiffs, conſtables, and all other officers and miniſters, whom theſe may concern.

" WILLIAM SCROGGS"—State Trials, vol. vii. p. 484.

There is alſo a curious paſſage reſpecting a ſimilar proceeding of Charles the 2d in Hume's life of that monarch.—Vol. viii. p. 16.

" Soon after the prorogation, there paſſed an incident which in itſelf is trivial, but tends ſtrongly to mark the genius of the Engliſh government, and of Charles's adminiſtration, during this period. The liberty of the conſtitution, and the variety as well as violence of the parties, had begotten a propenſity for political converſation; and as the coffee-houſes in particular were the ſcenes, where the conduct of the king and the miniſtry was canvaſſed with great freedom, a proclamation was iſſued to ſuppreſs theſe places of rendezvous. Such an act of power, during the former reigns, would have been grounded entirely on the prerogative; and before the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, no ſcruple would have been entertained with regard to that exerciſe of authority. But Charles, finding doubts to ariſe upon his proclamation, had recourſe to the judges, who ſupplied him with a chicane, and that too a frivolous one, by which he might juſtify his proceedings. The law which ſettled the exciſe, enacted, that licenſes for retailing liquors might be refuſed to ſuch as could not find ſecurity for payment of the duties. But coffee was not a liquor ſubjected to exciſe; and even this power of refuſing licenſes was very limited, and could not reaſonably be extended beyond the intention of the act. The king, therefore, obſerving the people to be much diſſatisfied, yielded to a petition of the coffee-men, who promiſed for the future to reſtrain all ſeditious diſcourſe in their houſes; and the proclamation was recalled."

virulent abuſe and perſecution, I have given the fundamental reſolutions and declarations of theſe Societies, that the reader may judge how far they deſerved the obloquy and reproaches of the people of Mancheſter or the miniſters of government.*

On

"*Mancheſter, May* 24, 1792.

* "*At a Meeting held at the* WINDMILL, *in* DOLEFIELD.

"Reſolved, firſt, That this Society be denominated the Patriotic Society.

"Second, That the following be our declaration, which ſhall be ſigned by the Preſident and Secretary; publiſhed in all the Mancheſter newſpapers, and ſent to the Conſtitutional Societies in London, Mancheſter, Sheffield, Norwich, Glaſgow, and any other places where ſimilar ſocieties are, or may be, formed.

"DECLARATION.

"The people of this country not being fairly repreſented, the object of this Society is to endeavour to gain by *conſtitutional means* a fair and adequate repreſentation in parliament; and till we have gained this point, we do declare that we will never ceaſe, or relinquiſh our well meant endeavours, and that we are determined to proceed with firmneſs in defence of our own and our country's rights.

"Reformation and not Revolution, as ſome would wiſh to inſinuate, is our object: all ideas of the latter we utterly *diſclaim*, as we *abhor* every thing that bears the ſlighteſt reſemblance to tumult or diſorder. The arms of reaſon are our only weapons, and with thoſe we hope to conquer; thoſe of force may aſſiſt deſpotiſm, but are not neceſſary to the cauſe of truth. Though we pay implicit obedience to the preſent form of government, yet ſtill we have the undeniable right of pointing out our grievances, and of endeavouring by conſtitutional means to get them redreſſed; we do therefore declare:

"I. That as government derives its origin from the people, they ought to be fairly and adequately repreſented in parliament.

"II. That till this is the caſe the people of England cannot be ſaid to enjoy perfect freedom.

"III. That the ſole object of government ought to be the proſperity and happineſs of the people.

"IV. That

On Monday the 4th of June, 1792, *(his Majeſty's birth-day)* a meeting was held in Mancheſter to addreſs the king on the late proclamation. On the Saturday, Sunday, and Monday morning before the meeting, the following addreſs was

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" IV. That the original intention of government was to protect, and not to annihilate the rights of man.—

" The people of this country, eſpecially the middle and lower claſſes, have been kept in the dark with reſpect to the abuſes of government, and have been conſtantly told that they ought not to meddle with the affairs of adminiſtration, becauſe thoſe in office would ever have their intereſt at heart. This mode of arguing, ridiculous as it is, has nevertheleſs had its deſired effect: the people thinking that this was really the caſe have ſhut their eyes to their own *intereſt*, and have deſiſted from making any enquiry; yet, alas! how have they been deceived, during a late rumour that this country would be involved in a war with Ruſſia, the people in general were averſe to it. And in the Houſe of Commons where their ſentiments ought to have been ſpoken, there was a very great majority in favour of the miniſters impolitic meaſure. This will frequently be the caſe till the people of this kingdom are equally repreſented in parliament. As this country owes much of its greatneſs to commerce, the people who have *contributed* the moſt to its preſent grandeur, and who contribute the moſt towards the maintenance of its government, certainly ought to have their ſentiments ſpoken by men of their own chuſing, for as long as placemen, penſioners, and others have it in their power to buy their ſeats in parliament for a few thouſand pounds, the proſperity, happineſs, and liberty of this country will ſtand on a very tottering foundation.

" We muſt confeſs that we have little expectation of any effectual reform being carried into execution by the Houſe of Commons of itſelf, for as *often* as the queſtion of an equal repreſentation in parliament has been agitated, ſo *often* has it been negatived; and ſtill more ſo as ſome of thoſe who formerly pretended to be warm advocates for the meaſure, are now amongſt the moſt violent of its oppoſers.

" We ſee with pleaſure that ſimilar inſtitutions to ours are forming in many towns in this kingdom, and we congratulate our country that men of the firſt rank and abilities have had liberality ſufficient to form themſelves into a ſociety for obtaining a more adequate repreſentation in parliament; and, eſpecially as ſeveral diſtinguiſhed members of the Houſe of Commons are on the liſt of the members of that ſociety, we intreat our fellow-citizens to follow our example, and not let themſelves be any longer deceived by any party of

was diſtributed on the part of the Conſtitutional Society, which will ſufficiently evince their deſire of preſerving the peace and harmony of the town, and their diſinclination to any ſpecies of conteſt but that of fair and free diſcuſſion.

" The

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men, for the miniſtry and oppoſition have generally but one thing in view, which is their own *individual intereſt*; and while Engliſhmen continue to repoſe an implicit confidence in either party, they muſt never expect to obtain an effectual redreſs of their grievances.

" Signed by the order of the Society,

" WILLIAM SPAKEMAN, Preſident.
" SAMUEL TENNANT, Secretary."

" *Manchester, June* 6, 1792.

" At a Meeting held at the Old Boar's Head, Hyde's Croſs, it was reſolved, that this Society be called

" The REFORMATION SOCIETY.

" That the following be our declaration which ſhall be printed in the Manchester papers, and ſent to ſimilar Societies in this kingdom.

" We behold with pleaſure ſocieties forming in different parts of this kingdom, for the purpoſe of obtaining a *Parliamentary Reform*; we beg leave to unite our humble endeavours to theirs, by forming ourſelves into a ſociety, to co-operate with them in ſo excellent an undertaking.

" The ſtudy of civil government ſo important to the happineſs of man, though in itſelf plain and ſimple, has, by the arts of deſpotiſm been wrapt up in darkneſs and obſcurity. If we ſuffer from any thing before we can apply the remedy, it is neceſſary to know the *cauſe*, to point out the ſprings, and to ſhew the height to which it has riſen. The beſt means of pointing out our grievances, and getting them redreſſed, is by having men *choſen* by the *majority of the people*; acting according to the wiſhes of their conſtituents in an *equal repreſentation of the people in parliament*.

" Reſolved,

" I. That the people of Great Britain are *not* fully, fairly and adequately repreſented in parliament—and that the defective ſtate of the repreſentation of this country and the extended duration of parliaments, require a ſpeedy and effectual REFORM, and are objects to which the attention of this ſociety is particularly directed.

" II. That

" The Manchester CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY, fully satisfied that the voice of reason is seldom heard amidst tumult and confusion—that the true friends of the people are also the truest friends of peaceable demeanour, and patient investigation—that the advocates of a timely and temperate reform in the abuses of government, require no assistance but from argument, and that their adversaries have no resource but in violence and abuse, the common refuge of a cause that can be no otherwise supported—*think it their duty* to reply by their actions to the calumnies of their enemies, and to step forward at this moment of public perturbation, in support of peace, and order, and law.

" II. That the happiness of the people governed, ought to be the sole end and aim of all civil government.

" III. That every person from the highest to the lowest appointed to, and accepting of any office or trust for the benefit of the community, is *ultimately responsible to the people* for the compleat discharge of the duties of it.

" We also beg leave to thank his Majesty for his royal proclamation, wherein are the following words: " And whereas there is nothing which we " so earnestly desire as to secure the public peace and prosperity, and to pre- " serve to all our loving subjects the full enjoyment of their rights and " liberties, both religious and civil."

" We are far from countenancing any thing that leads to anarchy and confusion. REASON and TRUTH are the only arms that we will unitedly wield against those who may oppose us, and with them we shall in the end prevail. We are willing to bring every thing to the test of reason, and of truth;—then by their own merits or demerits, they must stand or fall.

" We renounce and disclaim all riots and tumults. And we declare that we will, to the utmost of our power, at the command of the magistrates, assist in suppressing and quelling any such which may arise.

" Signed by order of the society,

" JOHN ROBERTS, President.
" JOHN CHEETHAM, Secretary."

" Hitherto

"Hitherto the people of England have ſuppoſed the ſtatutes of this realm, duly executed, were ſufficient of themſelves to prevent or to puniſh offences againſt the ſtate, and that if the laws were inadequate to their purpoſe, it was the duty of the legiſlature to remedy the defect. Hitherto the people of England have ſuppoſed that the peaceable diſcuſſion of the errors and abuſes which time may have introduced into the conſtitution under which they live, was not only their privilege, but their right—not merely a matter of expedience, but in juſtice to themſelves and their poſterity, their bounden duty.

"The proclamation, which his Majeſty's miniſters have ſo unadviſedly iſſued, found the people thus happily perſuaded: neither diſtruſting the laws of their country, nor involved in any riotous meetings or tumultuous diſcuſſions. Uſing, but not abuſing their right of inveſtigating the principles of government, and the conduct of their public ſervants, by the peaceable means of reaſon and argument. The true friends of their country have been grieved, to ſee this ſtate of the public mind ſo materially diſturbed by the late Proclamation—the obvious tendency of which is to create alarm where none exiſted before—to ſow the ſeeds of mutual diſcord and ſuſpicion among the people—to excite diſtruſt of the laws, the magiſtrates, and the government of the country—and to give exiſtence to thoſe very "*proceedings tending to produce riot and tumult*," which it profeſſes to guard againſt. Nevertheleſs a public meeting is propoſed to be held in the town of Mancheſter, on Monday next, "to conſider of a proper addreſs to his Majeſty," in conſequence of this very proclamation.

"In the preſent agitated ſtate of the public mind, the impropriety of ſuch a meeting cannot be doubted; and the *obvious tendency*, of a multitude of people, of various and oppoſite ſentiments aſſembling to diſcuſs a public meaſure of a violent nature, and containing the moſt dubious aſſertions, and

and the moſt perſonal alluſions, is too glaring to be miſtaken. By violence and tumult—by intemperate debate and public confuſion, the cauſe of the people muſt inevitably be injured. This is the game for their enemies to play; and there is reaſon to believe the opportunities will be eagerly ſought for.

"The Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society will never relinquiſh their principles, or loſe ſight of an effectual reform in the repreſentation of the people; but they renounce and diſclaim ſuch means of effecting their purpoſe, or promoting their cauſe.—They do therefore moſt earneſtly exhort the Members of their own and ſimilar ſocieties in this town and neighbourhood, and every true friend to the rights of the people, to evince themſelves the true friends alſo of public peace and good order, by abſtaining from the meeting of Monday next; which, however upright the motives of the perſons who have called it, has a direct tendency *at the preſent criſis*, to endanger the harmony and tranquillity of the town and neighbourhood.

"Signed by order, and on the behalf of the
Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society.

"THOMAS WALKER, Preſident.
"SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary.

"*Mancheſter, June* 2, 1792."

This precaution was but too neceſſary; for in the evening of Monday a conſiderable number of people aſſembled in St. Ann's-Square, in Mancheſter, to ſee ſome illuminations exhibited by two of his Majeſty's tradeſmen, when the croud became very tumultuous, and aſſaulted ſeveral peaceable ſpectators;—they proceeded to tear up ſeveral of the trees growing there, one of which was carried with great triumph to the Diſſenters chapel, near the ſquare, and the gates attempted to be forced open, with violent cries of "Church and King—Down with the Rump—Down with

it, &c. &c." Another tree was carried in the ſame riotous manner, and with the ſame exultations to the Unitarian chapel in Moſley-ſtreet; fortunately, however, the doors withſtood the attacks made upon them, the people were perſuaded gradually to diſperſe, and about one o'clock in the morning the ſtreets became quiet without any further damage.

About this time (June 26th, 1792,) one of the diviſions of the Church and King Club thought fit to ſupport the proclamation of his Majeſty's Miniſters by a declaration of their principles in an Addreſs,* which I have already given in contraſt with the reſolutions of the Conſtitutional Society; and, I apprehend, the reader has not been at a loſs to form a judgement upon theſe two compoſitions.

The meetings that were called, and the reſolutions that were entered into, in almoſt every part of the kingdom at this period, under pretence of ſupporting the conſtitution, are well known. The High Churchmen were not behind hand, on this occaſion, in their profeſſions of loyalty: all the bad paſſions of party were let looſe, and political rancour againſt the friends of *reform*, became a virtue of the firſt magnitude.†

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† This was not unforeſeen by a writer in the Manchester Herald, who thus expreſſes himſelf:

"*Manchester, June* 2, 1792.

"SIR,

"The public have been not a little ſurpriſed at the appearance of a proclamation, the moſt extraordinary perhaps that the annals of this country has produced, and ſingularly well calculated to produce the alarm which it is apparently meant to allay.

"By hints and inſinuations—by ambiguous expreſſions—by general aſſertions, the aſtoniſhed reader is taught to expect ſome unknown evil, which he attempts in vain to diſcover from the proclamation itſelf. Seditious writings are complained of without being deſcribed; broad hints are given that correſpondencies have been undertaken for criminal purpoſes with ſundry perſons in foreign parts, without

A few months after this proclamation, a tax-gatherer, and ſome other perſons, went round the town of Manchester to all the inn keepers and publicans, adviſing them, as they valued themſelves, to ſuffer no ſocieties ſimilar to

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without the ſlighteſt fact being ſtated upon which this belief is grounded, without any particulars of the ſubject of correſpondence, or the perſons correſponding, or the foreign nations alluded to. It inſinuates attempts at the ſubverſion of all regular government, without venturing to ſpecify any particulars for public information. It directs magiſtrates to depart from the line of their practice to turn informers and tranſmit ſecret acuſations againſt individuals to perſons, before whom the offence is not regularly cognizable.

" In the beginning it aſſerts, that ſeditious writings have been printed, publiſhed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed—afterwards, as if doubting its own aſſertions, it commands magiſtrates to enquire after the authors, printers, and diſperſers of ſuch writings, who, if the former aſſertion be true, ought to be well known already, and if not well known, the aſſertion ought not to have been made.

" But if ſeditious writings have been publiſhed, Why not venture to point them out? If not, Where is the propriety of this proclamation? If illegal correſpondencies have been undertaken, Why not publiſh the fact, produce the proof, and inflict the puniſhment? If none ſuch have taken place, Why make ſo groundleſs an inſinuation?

" In truth this proclamation (which is not the act of his majeſty, who has neither the power nor the inclination to do wrong, but of his miniſters who may have both) is in its whole tenor and compoſition, a direct attack upon the conduct of government. Why permit any occaſion to exiſt for ſuch a proclamation? Why have not theſe writings (if any ſuch there are) been ſuppreſſed, and their authors and publiſhers proceeded againſt according to law? Are the laws ineffectual? Why not amend them?—Are they ſufficient already—Why have they not been inforced? Indeed I am aſtoniſhed that miniſters for their own ſakes will thus publiſh to the world that, having been remiſs in their duty until this time, they will take more care in future.

" I am grieved to ſee the reſpected name of our gracious ſovereign annexed to a publication ſo evidently open to theſe animadverſions; and I hope the adviſers of this indiſcreet meaſure will ſhortly be impeached for promoting a proclamation ſo flagrantly calculated to excite jealouſies and alarms among the people, where none exiſted before. Very different indeed the caſe would have been, if any writings or correſpondencies after being publicly condemned

to ours (the conſtitutional) to meet at their houſes. The publicans thought their licenſes of more value than our cuſtom, and would receive neither the conſtitutional, the patriotic, nor the reformation ſocieties any longer. In thus acting they for the moment probably conſulted their intereſt, but the mode of their doing it, was too deſcriptive of the temper of the high church party at that time * to be omitted.

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by the verdict of a jury as ſeditious and inflammatory, and thus clearly aſcertained and pointed out to the people, were maintained or publiſhed and diſperſed. In that caſe there would have exiſted a ſpecific offence, the object would have been unambiguous, and the proclamation would have acted as a mild and ſalutary caution. At preſent there is room to doubt upon every ſentence of this proclamation; and what is worſe there is alſo room to apply it where it may not have the moſt diſtant alluſion. Involved as it is in darkneſs and ambiguity, dealing in fears without ſpecifying the foundation, and creating ſuſpicions without removing them, each man is tempted to aſk his neighbour, Who are the perſons? Where are the meetings? Which are the writings? The evil ſpirit of criminal conjecture is let looſe upon the public, by authority, to ſtab the reputation of the innocent; and the malignant paſſions of private pique and public prejudice, have now full play and ample gratification.

"But after all, Why this general anxiety among miniſters to ſtop the progreſs of knowledge and cut off the ſources of political information? Why this dread leſt the people (the *Swinish Multitude*, as their friend, Mr. Burke, calls them) ſhould think too much and reaſon too much on their own rights and their own intereſts? Leſt the deep veil of myſtery which ſtate-craft has thrown over the ſcience of government, ſhould, perchance, be withdrawn, and the tranſactions of court politics be expoſed to the prying eye of an aſtoniſhed multitude? If the foundations of theſe gaudy ſuperſtructures be unſound, this conduct is eaſily explained: but if government and miniſters do actually mean well, if their principles and conduct will bear examination, why do they ſhrink from enquiry? Why give room to apply the obſervation, that "Men love darkneſs rather than light—becauſe their deeds are evil."

"SYDNEY."

"*Mancheſter*, *Sept.* 13, 1792.

* "We whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, being licenſed innkeepers and ale-houſekeepers, within the towns of MANCHESTER and SALFORD, *juſtly* alarmed

The Conſtitutional Society having now no regular place of meeting, in conſequence of being thus excluded from public houſes, I offered them the uſe of my houſe at Mancheſter until

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alarmed at the *treaſonable* and *ſeditious* conduct of a *well-known* ſet of daring MISCREANTS, who have called a public meeting to be held on Tueſday next, at the *Bull's Head inn*, in *Mancheſter*, for the *avowed* purpoſe of *aſſiſting* the FRENCH SAVAGES, as well as with a SINCERE DESIRE of *introducing ſimilar calamities* to the *inhabitants* of this HAPPY and PROSPEROUS COUNTRY, as *thoſe* that now *exiſt* in *France*, take this very *neceſſary* opportunity of publiſhing to the towns of MANCHESTER and SALFORD in particular, and to the whole kingdom of GREAT-BRITAIN in general, our *deteſtation* of ſuch *wicked and abominable* PRACTICES.

"And we do hereby ſolemnly declare, that *we will not ſuffer* any meeting to be held in our houſes, of *any* CLUBS *or* SOCIETIES, however *ſpecious or plauſible* their titles may be, that have a tendency to put in force what thoſe INFERNALS ſo *ardently* and *devoutly wiſh for*, namely the DESTUCTION OF THIS COUNTRY; and *we* will be ready on all occaſions, to co-operate with our fellow-townſmen in *bringing to juſtice* all thoſe who ſhall offend in any inſtance, againſt OUR MUCH-ADMIRED AND MOST EXCELLENT CONSTITUTION."

Signed by 186 Inn-keepers and Alehouſe-keepers.

The preceding advertiſement was publiſhed in conſequence of the following propoſal:

"The friends to the liberties of mankind reſident in this town and neighbourhood, are deſired to meet at the Bull's Head, on Tueſday next the 18th inſtant, at three o'clock in the afternoon, to ſet on foot a ſubſcription for the relief of our brethren in France, who are at preſent ſuffering all the calamities of war, in conſequence of a moſt cruel combination of *deſpots*, againſt the dawning liberty of *that* country, and which may eventually be employed, and with the ſame reaſon, to the deſtruction of our own."

Mancheſter, 12th September, 1792.

Another inſtance of the indecent length to which falſehood and calumny were carried, appears in Harrop's Mancheſter Mercury of Tueſday the 13th. of November, 1792. Some perſons had been taken up (in London, I believe,) on a charge of unnatural practices; this circumſtance gave riſe to the following paragraph in the paper laſt mentioned.

until they could accommodate themſelves elſewhere. As I moſtly reſided five miles from Manchester, in a houſe which I *then* rented at Barlow;* it cauſed no interruption or inconvenience

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" The expoſure of the *Catamites* has given riſe to a comparative enquiry into the characters which compoſe that Society, and the characters which compoſe the *Cataline* Societies that meet in the various parts of this town; where it is clearly found that the latter (many of whom are of the Catamite fraternity alſo) are by far the more dangerous in ſociety. Nature, ever perfect, powerful, and repulſive, will protect her own laws. Her imperative voice calls out, and the univerſal hand is lifted againſt the execrable monſter that inverts her ſacred purpoſes: but the Catalines, whoſe dark and villainous machinations work upon the credulous and weak minds of imperfect men, ſhould become the peculiar objects of national attention and reſentment. It is impoſſible to offend the laws of nature with impunity—thoſe of nations are too often ſubverted without puniſhment. All who love the harmony of order in ſociety—all who venerate the beſt of conſtitutions—all who admire and love the beſt of Sovereigns; in ſhort, every liberal and manly nature ſhould unite in the expoſure and condemnation of thoſe conſpirators who meet in public, and private houſes, and who, diſſatisfied with regular national proſperity and happineſs, would, if poſſible, conſign their country to all the miſeries of public and private anarchy!——"

* This houſe belongs to Mr. Egerton of Tatton, one of the preſent members for Newcaſtle, in Staffordſhire. On the 10th day of January, 1792, Mr. Egerton called upon me, and a converſation, of which the following dialogue is a part, paſſed between us:

Mr. Egerton. I have been very uneaſy, and my uneaſineſs has prevented me from ſooner coming to Barlow.

Mr. Walker. I am ſorry you have had any uneaſineſs, and ſtill more ſo, that it has prevented you from coming here, according to your repeated promiſes.

Mr. Egerton. From the deciſive part which you have taken in public affairs, I have been very much afraid that your houſe would have been pulled down.

Mr. Walker. Sir!

Mr. Egerton. I mean my houſe.

Mr. Walker. I am really at a loſs to know what you mean.

venience to myſelf or my family. The high church party having thus failed of routing the jacobins (as the friends of civil and religious liberty were now termed all over Europe) their animoſity was principally directed againſt me for having furniſhed the place of meeting for the ſociety, to which I belonged. On the 1ſt of December, 1792, his majeſty's miniſters iſſued their ſecond proclamation, and on the 11th, the friends to high church principles in Mancheſter reſolved to follow the example, which ſeems to have been held out at London as a pattern for the whole kingdom by what is called Mr. Reeves's aſſociation. The newſpapers at Mancheſter, particularly Harrop's, had long teemed with inflammatory paragraphs againſt the friends of freedom or *jacobins* as it then was, and ſtill continues to be, the faſhion to call them. Thus in Harrop's paper of December 4th, 1792, juſt a week before the riot, there appeared the following paſſages.

Mr. Egerton. I think it right to be explicit, and to ſay that I have been very apprehenſive from the part you have taken, that my houſe would have been pulled down. *In fact, I knew, it was intended to pull your houſes down.*

Mr. Walker. To me you appear much miſtaken, for I think the people begin to know better than to treat their real friends in the manner you ſeem to inſinuate. But, as I think you right in being explicit, and as I admire plain dealing, I will follow your example, and tell you that if you expect, I ſhould regulate my opinions by yours, you will be very much miſtaken. The part I have taken I have not adopted without mature deliberation, and without being perfectly convinced it is right. I will, not therefore, ſuffer any man to dictate to me.

Mr. Egerton. I do not expect it, but my property is in danger.

Mr. Walker. Whilſt I live in your houſe I ſhall not permit it eaſily to be pulled down, as independently of my property I have a very great ſtake in it, my wife and ſix children.

Mr. Egerton. Sir, property is every thing to me.—

" The metropolis * of Great-Britain having ſo decidedly " given its opinion in reſpect to the conduct of thoſe level- " ling ſocieties which would pull down the glorious fabrick " of the conſtitution, no doubt can be entertained that " every corporate body and every town, county, and bo- " rough in the kingdom will follow ſo laudable an example; " and thus at once cruſh thoſe inſidious vipers who would " poiſon the minds of the people, level all diſtinctions and " *all property*, † and make one general wreck of the happineſs " of the empire."

" The

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* Alluding to the reſolutions of the Common-Council of the City of London, upon the 27th and the 29th of November, 1792. Signed, Rix. Sanderſon, Mayor.

† The word Equality has been of great uſe to the High Church party, who have not failed to ſeize every opportunity of *wilfully perverting* it from the ſenſe in which the defenders of Liberty and Equality have conſtantly uſed it. In Mancheſter the conſtant miſrepreſentation of our principles on this ſubject, induced the friends to Freedom to publiſh and diſperſe the following hand-bill, firſt printed I believe at Liverpool.

" EQUALITY.

" The perverſe ſenſe impoſed on the word EQUALITY, by the folly or the fears of ſome of our countrymen, is as dangerous as it is abſurd; and they may probably ſee the day, when they may repent of having infuſed into the minds of the people a notion, that the EQUALITY to be contended for is an *Equality* of *wealth* and *poſſeſſions*. If by continually repeating this idea, the *uninformed*, or as they are now *arrogantly ſtyled*, the SWINISH MULTITUDE, ſhould take it into their heads, that they are juſtified in *inforcing* ſuch a ſyſtem, the conſequences will reſt on thoſe, who by a perverſion of terms, have wickedly or fooliſhly propagated ſo dangerous a doctrine. The equality inſiſted on by the friends of Reform is AN EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, or, in other words, that every perſon may be *equally* intitled to the protection and benefits of ſociety; may *equally* have a voice in the election of thoſe perſons who make the laws by which he is affected in his liberty, his life, or his property; and may have a fair opportunity of exerting to advantage any talents he may poſſeſs. The rule is not " *Let all mankind be perpetually equal*"—God and nature have forbidden it. But " *Let all mankind ſtart fair in the Race of life.*" The *inequality* derived from labour and ſucceſsful

" The following remark made in a very modern publi-
" cation on the " Happineſs and Rights of Man," is levelled
" with

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ceſsful enterprize, the reſult of ſuperior induſtry and good fortune, is an *inequality eſſential to the very exiſtence of Society*; and it naturally follows, that the property ſo acquired, ſhould paſs *from a father to his children*. To render property inſecure would deſtroy all motives to exertion, and tear up public happineſs by the roots. Such are the truths acknowledged and avowed by the Reformers of the preſent day, and Where, but in the wild workings of a diſordered imagination, do their enemies find the dangerous doctrines with which they daily alarm the public? Are they acknowledged by the government of America? Are they to be diſcovered in the code of the French nation? Have they been avowed by ANY CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY in this kingdom? Or, Are there any traces of ſuch doctrines in the WORKS OF ANY MODERN REFORMER?—Again, Are the Reformers of the preſent day leſs intereſted than their abuſers in the proſperity of their country? Are Mr. GREY and his NUMEROUS coadjutors men without property? Let the oppoſers of Reform come forward and anſwer theſe queſtions—Or let us hear no more of LEVELLERS and LEVELLING SYSTEMS; nor let an odium be thrown on GREAT AND UNCHANGEABLE TRUTHS from the *wilful perverſion* of a *WORD*."

The Reformation Society alſo repeatedly publiſhed the following reſolutions:

" REFORMATION SOCIETY.

" The Mancheſter Reformation Society, finding that the meaning of the word Equality has been much miſrepreſented by their enemies, (who have aſſerted that the people wanted an equal Partition of Property) and this Society being chiefly compoſed of manufacturers, mechanics and labourers, who have been principally accuſed of wiſhing to divide the property of their neighbours amongſt them, think it their duty, as men, to ſtep forward, and flatly to deny this falſe accuſation: they do therefore unanimouſly declare,

" I. That what they want is Equality of Rights, and not of Property.

" II. That by the word Equality, they underſtand, that a man (let him be ever ſo poor, provided he is a good citizen,) has as juſt a claim to an equal Partition of Rights, Liberties and Privileges, as the richeſt.

" III. That the idea of *Equally* dividing Property is abſurd and ridiculous, for was property *equal* one hour, it would be impoſſible to prevent its being *unequal* the next.

" IV. That

" with ſo much truth and juſtice againſt that *affectation and* " *villainy* which characterize ſome deſperate promoters of " revolutions, as to deſerve the approbation of all who are " not yet completely blinded by their miſchievous anarchi- " cal doctrines. As for thoſe who, with premeditation, " preach up the equalizing principles, without believing " them to be juſt, and merely to anſwer their own private " purpoſes, they can only be ranked with that claſs of men, " whoſe crimes call loudly for a *Gibbet*."

The minds of the people were thus inceſſantly irritated, and the poorer claſs gradually prepared for the ſcenes that were to follow. In this ſame week (on Dec. 7th) a meeting was held in Salford, (the town immediately adjoining to and connected with Mancheſter) to addreſs his Majeſty upon the laſt proclamation: at this meeting the ſame Harrop *

" IV. That every Government which gives Rights and Privileges to vicious people, becauſe they are opulent, and lets poor deſerving merit ſtarve and ſink into oblivion, is not adapted to preſerve the happineſs and welfare of the people. A Government ſo conſtructed is conſequently bad, and ought to be reformed.

" V. That as all men come into the world alike, and go out alike; the ſun ariſes upon all, and the rain falls equally on all; we wiſh to ſee the *ſlave* riſe to the dignified character of man, and let the moſt haughty tyrant *know* that he is but a man.

" VI. That we ſhould not have thought it neceſſery to declare our ſentiments on this occaſion to the public, had not our enemies (thoſe contemptible Apoſtates, who formerly pretended to be the friends of Liberty and Equality, but whoſe tongues have been tyed by a long liſt of places and penſions) miſ-interpreted our meanings, and thereby attempted to make us appear, in the eyes of the world, as men who ought not to be truſted.

" Signed, by order of the Society,

" SAMUEL TENNANT, Secretary."

* I do not know whether Joſeph Harrop, the father, or James Harrop, his ſon, is the proprietor of the Mancheſter Mercury; but the fact is, that it belongs to one or both of them; one of them is, likewiſe, a diſtributor of ſtamps under Government, and was lately appointed to the lucrative office of Poſtmaſter of the town of Mancheſter.

who

who owned and conducted the paper, in which were inserted the preceding paragraphs, presided; when the following resolutions were passed, in which the same calumnious accusation was kept up:

"*Court House, Salford, December* 7, 1792.

"At the most numerous meeting ever remembered on any former occasion, of the inhabitants of this town, convened by public advertisement, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

"JOSEPH HARROP, Boroughreeve, Chairman.

"That sensible of the many blessings we enjoy, under the mild and auspicious reign of our most gracious Sovereign, and wishing to hand down our glorious Constitution, unimpaired, to the latest posterity, as good and loyal subjects, we cannot behold, without the utmost horror and detestation, the attempts of a set of daring and seditious men; who, under the specious pretence of reformation, wish to introduce a system of anarchy and confusion, similar to that experienced in a neighbouring nation, and tending to destroy every religious and civil establishment in this country.

"That it is the duty of all good subjects, to promote and maintain, both by their example and influence, the efficacy of the laws, and the interests of public peace and tranquillity.

"That it highly becomes the friends of our happy Constitution, at all times, but more especially at the present crisis, to employ their best efforts to suppress all seditious meetings, and to discountenance and prevent the propagation of all seditious and treasonable publications; and be ready to *cooperate* with Government, in adopting such measures, as may be thought expedient for the security of the state, and the preservation of peace and good order.

"That an association be immediately formed, by the present meeting, the more effectually to promote the important ends

 above-

above-mentioned: and that the concurrence of all the loyal and well-diſpoſed inhabitants of this townſhip, be earneſtly requeſted.

"That a Committee be immediately appointed, to carry the reſolutions of this meeting into effect; who will be ready to confer and correſpond with ſuch aſſociations as may be eſtabliſhed for ſimilar purpoſes, which have no other object in view but the PUBLIC GOOD.

"JOSEPH HARROP, Boroughreeve."

Not contented with this meeting at Salford, another was now called, for the ſame purpoſe, at the Bull's Head Inn, in Mancheſter, for the 11th of the ſame month. Previous thereto, a Member of the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society penned, and, with the concurrence of ſome of his friends, printed an Addreſs containing the following, amongſt other obſervations: *

"WAR!

"Such appears to be the determination of the Britiſh Court, by their voluntary, unrequeſted interference in Dutch politics; by the proclamation offering bounties to Seamen, and by the ſudden equipment of ſhips of the line. With ſuch hoſtile preparations, the *internal* tranquillity of the country, can have no connection.

"On Tueſday next, the 11th of December, a meeting is to be holden of the inhabitants of this town, for the purpoſe of preparing a dutiful and loyal addreſs to his Majeſty, on his late proclamation. Three proclamations have been iſſued; the one to prohibit political diſcuſſion, another to embody a few of the militia, and a third offering *Bounties to Seamen.*

* This is the ſubſtance of the paper alluded to in the Second Report from the Committee of Secrecy of the Houſe of Commons, in the proceedings of the Society for Conſtitutional Information in London. See Appendix C. of that report, 14th and 21ſt of December.

" By ſuch addreſſes, Government evidently means to feel the pulſe of the people; and if it can procure theſe loyal and dutiful approbations of our preſent happy Conſtitution of perjured electors, and penſioned repreſentatives—of *five* millions of tythes, and *twenty* millions of taxes—it may ſafely conclude, that no abſurdity can be too groſs for the people to ſwallow, and no burthens too heavy for them to bear.

" Inhabitants of Mancheſter! pauſe a while on behalf of your own intereſts, and conſider what claſs of ye can be benefited by WAR.

" Will funded property become more valuable? Will landed property be increaſed by it? Will it diminiſh the exciſe, or the land tax, or the houſe tax, or the window tax, or the commutation tax, or any of the long, long catalogue of taxes, which lie ſo heavy upon this devoted country?

" Will the home trade be encreaſed by War? By war, which will add to theſe numerous taxes—which will enhance the price of all the neceſſaries of life—and which will leſſen the conſumption of manufactures of every kind.

" Will the exporter benefit by war, which will encreaſe the riſk of exportation—the price of inſurance—and the prime coſt of almoſt every material? By war, which will delay the execution of foreign orders, by depriving our merchants of their ſeamen—and put in jeopardy the moſt material part of our trade?

" Have we forgotten our ſtreets filled with untenanted houſes, during the greateſt part of the American war? What a war occaſioned then, a war may again occaſion; and again the proſperity of the country may be put upon the caſt of a die.

" A war with France, (which ſeems at preſent meditated,) will deprive us of the French, the Dutch, the Auſtrian and

the German markets: for, all theſe nations will be engaged in it. Our Eaſt and our Weſt India poſſeſſions will again be in danger, for ſooner or later they muſt be involved in the conteſt. And, as the French aſſiſted the Americans to obtain *their* freedom, the latter may think it right to return the compliment. And thus may the ignorance and bigotry of *Church and King Politics*, deprive us at a ſtroke of every market for our manufactures which the world affords.

"Suppoſe for a moment that the rich and opulent manufacturer can ſupport this—What will the little maker, the country dealer, ſay to ſuch a criſis of affairs? who has no credit to give; whoſe profits maintain his family but from hand to mouth; and who with difficulty procures the neceſſary ſupply of caſh for his weavers at home.

"And, What will the Weaver ſay to this? who already finds his wages fallen, his reeds called in, and employment ſcarce. Should a war be the conſequence of theſe time ſerving addreſſes, where is employment to be found? and how are the families of the poor to be maintained? If a decent ſubſiſtence cannot even now be obtained but with unwearied labour and painful exertion, what is to be done when employment ceaſes, when wages are ſunk, and proviſions riſe?—Look to it, ye loyal addreſſers, ye hood-winked politicians——for ſhould your courtly effuſions be the ſtalking horſe for intended hoſtilities, to you, and to you alone, the ſtarving people will have a right to look for ſubſiſtence.

"Ye numerous ſpeculators in building land, in Mancheſter, and its vicinity, are ye advocates for War? how much per yard will it add to the value of your property? how much will it diminiſh the price of building? what additions will it make to the number of ſub-purchaſers? or how will the covenants you, or they may have engaged in, be more advantageouſly fulfilled, under the preſſure of this national calamity?

" What will the induſtrious tribe of brickſellers and timber merchants—of brickmakers and bricklayers, and carpenters and joiners, and ſmiths, and plumbers, and workmen employed in building, of all denominations, ſay to this fatal meaſure? To the projected multitude of new buildings, they have reaſonably looked for conſtant employment and comfortable ſubſiſtence. Should war be the conſequence of your loyalty, what will they do?—Or where are they to go?

" The POOR have ſeldom time to attend to theſe public meetings; they are ſeldom permitted to come to them, they ſeldom underſtand the purport of them, or foreſee the effect of them upon their own intereſt. As therefore they are not likely to attend for themſelves, it will become your duty to think at leaſt for a moment, what is to become of them.

" Ye know, or ye ought to know, that juſtice is never to be obtained without expence, and that the poor cannot afford it. Ye know, or ye ought to know, that various laws, like the game laws, and the combination laws, are expreſsly made againſt the Poor—that *they* are liable to be torn from their families by the violence of the preſs-gang, while the rich and the luxurious repoſe in peace upon their beds of down.

" Headlong promoters of ſelf-deſtruction, look round upon the habitations of miſery, and pauſe for a few moments on the conſequence of your proceedings, to the wretched poſſeſſors of them!

" Ye well know, (or ye ought to know) that the preſent politics of every court in Europe, lean to *War with the French?* —Ye are appriſed of the hoſtile preparations making in *this* kingdom, and can ye be blind to the purpoſe of them?—— Again, conſider, if a war *ſhould* happen, what will become of the poor, or whoſe property will be ſafe?

" You

"You are now forewarned—the conſequences are with yourſelves, and the blood upon your own heads. The Friends of the People hear with pity, and bear with patience the hourly calumnies to which they are expoſed. They entertain, however, no perſonal enmities, no averſion but to the enemies of the people, and no diſreſpect of the Conſtitution, but where it has become hoſtile to the rights of the people.

"Would ye do good by your meeting, addreſs his Majeſty that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove from his Councils all Miniſters hoſtile to the peace of the country, and take ſuch meaſures as are moſt effectual to prevent the dangers of impending War.*

"*December* 10, 1792. "SYDNEY."

The writer of the above was Thomas Cooper, to whoſe character I feel myſelf unable to do juſtice. I, for many years, enjoyed his friendſhip. He was truly a man, whoſe time and whoſe labours were ever at the command of the injured and the unfortunate; whoſe talents and whoſe learning, which were very conſiderable, were uniformly devoted to the great intereſts of mankind.

The forewarnings of my friend had, however, no effect. The meeting which was called for the 11th, was held about twelve o'clock of the ſame day. Soon after it broke up, I was informed that there prevailed a *report of a riot that was to take place in the evening*, but looking upon it as an idle report, I paid no attention to it. Soon after dark I was informed, that the people were encouraged and irritated, by various perſons, to raiſe violent outcries againſt the *Jacobins* and Preſbyterians. Theſe, I ſhould obſerve, are convertible

* It is much to be lamented, that this maſterly Addreſs was not equally fortunate with the Manchester RESOLUTIONS on the intended War with Ruſſia, in April 1791, ſo as to have aſſiſted in preventing the calamities inſeparable from our preſent meaſures.

terms

terms amongſt the Tories of Lancaſhire, and ſeveral other counties of England; they call Diſſenters of all denominations Preſbyterians. This went on for about two hours, when the people were, by liquor and other means, ſufficiently inflamed for any miſchievous undertaking. Every thing now ſeemed to wear the appearance of a preconcerted ſcheme. The ſame contrivances were uſed as at a conteſted election. Parties were collected in different public houſes, and from thence paraded the ſtreets with a fidler before them, and carrying a board, on which was painted CHURCH *and* KING, in large letters. In the Market-place, at Mancheſter, reſided the Printers of the two Newſpapers before mentioned; the one a Miniſterial paper, called the Mancheſter Mercury, printed by Harrop, the other one of a different deſcription, the Mancheſter Herald, printed by Falkner and Birch, now driven to America. * Theſe were each of them Bookſellers and Stationers ſhops, where people reſorted for news in much the ſame manner as is the cuſtom in London. In the former ſhop, and in the newſpaper there publiſhed, the friends of freedom were the ſubject of conſtant abuſe, under the uſual appellations of Jacobins, Levellers, &c. while in the latter ſhop, and in the Mancheſter Herald, more liberal ſentiments prevailed.

About ſeven o'clock in the evening, the mob collected before the laſt mentioned Bookſellers, and attacked the ſhop and houſe with ſtones and brick bats, till the windows were almoſt entirely deſtroyed and beat in at the front of the building.

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* The ſale of this paper became ſo extenſive, and the information it contained ſo important, that, in the then temper of the times, it was not likely to paſs long unnoticed. Previous to the departure of theſe worthy, but unfortunate men, to America, there were five ex officio informations and ſix indictments againſt each of them, at the ſuit of the Crown. As the purſe of the Treaſury is more than a match for that of an individual, whoſe riches conſiſt in his labour, and who, from the intolerable expence, would be ſure to fail in the conteſt, they preferred a voluntary exile to impriſonment.

During

During this time many perſons of reſpectable ſituations in Mancheſter, expreſſed their diſlike of theſe proceedings, and endeavoured to intereſt thoſe, whoſe duty it was to ſuppreſs them. But this, ſo far from having its proper effect, produced nothing but encouragement to the mob. One of the perſons applied to was a Deputy Conſtable* of the name of Unite (then in Harrop's ſhop) who anſwered, "They are loyal ſubjects, let them alone; it is good to frighten theſe people;" or words to that effect. Afterwards he went to the mob, and clapping ſome of them on the back, he ſaid, "Good lads, good lads;" and perceiving ſome beadles preſent attempting to do their duty, he ſaid to them, "Come away, damn the houſe, don't come near it." A Gentleman remarked, in the hearing of a Reverend Magiſtrate, not then in the execution of his duty, "What ſcandalous work this is!" "Not at all, Sir," replied the other; "and if I was called upon, I would not act againſt them." One of the ſpecial Conſtables was heard to ſay, in another part of the town, "I'll give you a guinea for every one of the Jacobins houſes you pull down!"

Meſſrs. Falkner and Birch expecting their houſe would be pulled down, ſent one of their friends, Mr. Allen Jackſon, to the ſenior Conſtable, deſiring his protection. His anſwer was, "Unite has orders how to act:"—The Conſtable explained this by ſaying, that he had deſired Unite to get together as many perſons as he could to oppoſe any riot, ſhould there be one, and that he could do no more.—Mr. Jackſon, however, diſſatisfied with this anſwer, was going away; but ſeveral perſons came out of the parlour, who, after they had learnt Mr. Jackſon's buſineſs, treated him with inſult. One of them cried, "Kick him out of doors;" another, "They have brought matters to this, let them take the conſequence." Mr. Jackſon, finding no proſpect of juſtice amongſt theſe Gentlemen, returned to Meſſrs. Falkner's and Birch's, and informed them of what had paſſed.

* A Conſtable who is principally employed by the Borough-reeve and the two chief Conſtables.

This

This, however, was not the only application to the proper peace officers, as will appear by the declaration hereafter given, which together with the two following letters will give a better account of the proceedings of the mob at Mr. Falkner's, and till they came to my houſe, than I can. They were ſent voluntarily by the writers.

Mr. FALKNER, *Mancheſter, Dec.* 13, 1792.

SIR,

"Though I differ from you in political and religious ſentiments, I wiſh always to be found an advocate for truth and juſtice. I ſhall, therefore, ſtate to you (and to the public, if you ſhould think proper to publiſh it,) what I know and what I am ready to atteſt upon oath if required, concerning the riot that happened at your door on Tueſday night laſt. Being down in the Market-place, a little after dark, I obſerved a number of men of the loweſt order, crying out moſt violently, "Church and King,—Damn Tom Paine," &c. and every now and then "Huzza! huzza!" but they were then ſo weak even in numbers, that little was to be apprehended from them, ſo I left them and went into an adjoining public houſe.

"While I was there I heard the noiſe ſtill increaſe, and ſaid to ſome gentlemen preſent, I am afraid miſchief will be done this night.

"A gentleman (a ſtaunch friend to the king and conſtitution as any man in Mancheſter,) went immediately to Mr. Harrop's, and in his ſhop he found the Deputy-conſtable, Unite, to whom he ſaid, Why don't you go and quell yon mob at Falkner's door? Depend upon it, there will be ſome miſchief done, and though I am no friend either to him or his principles, yet I would not have his property hurt. The deputy's anſwer was, Oh! let them alone, they are loyal ſubjects, let them frighten him a bit!! When he came into the houſe and told us what had paſſed, adding that the mob

was then breaking Falkner's windows, I went out amongſt the people, and told ſome of them on the outſide (for I did not go into the middle of them) that I would take the firſt man into cuſtody that I ſaw throw a ſtone at the windows, be he who he would (for I heard the craſh of the glaſs, but ſaw no one individual throwing.) I went round to the other ſide of the mob and ſtood againſt your ſhop window to make obſervations, and whilſt I ſtood there the two beadles of the town came up to me; I ſaid to them, What are you about that you don't do your duty?—Their anſwer was—we don't know what we have to do. Seeing two men knocking violently at your door with one hand, and with the other waving their hats and ſhouting, I obſerved the deputy conſtable (Unite) go up to them, and tapping them on the ſhoulder, I heard him diſtinctly ſay—*Good lads; good lads!* and turning to a tall gentleman preſent, he ſaid (ſmiling) I can keep them quiet by giving them good words! then turning towards me I ſpoke to him, but he gave me no anſwer; but ſeeing the beadles ſtanding beſide me near the window, he ſaid to them with an angry tone, loud enough to be heard by me as well as the mob—come away from the houſe! d—n his houſe don't come near it! After they were gone, reflecting on the perilous ſituation in which I ſtood, and ſeeing no perſon diſpoſed to ſecond me in an attempt to reduce them to peace and good order, I left the place and went home, determined to give you and the public an impartial account of what I had ſeen and heard. Let them take the ſhame to whom it belongs. I am not afraid nor aſhamed to ſubſcribe myſelf, &c. &c."

"SIR,

"Being drawn by my buſineſs to Mancheſter laſt Tueſday, I had for the firſt time an opportunity of ſeeing (in great part) the riſe, and too much of the brutal progreſs of an ignorant mob. My previous knowledge of mobs being entirely conjectural, I had always conceived them to be compoſed of men unprincipled, unlettered, and deſtitute of property: but

but experience makes men wiſe. The firſt of theſe qualities will unequivocally apply, but the two latter (though true in part) will by no means admit of an univerſal application. I had demonſtrative evidence that a mob conſiſts of two parts, viz. the managers and the actors; or it may be compared to a puppet-ſhow, which expoſes to view and urges to action the ſenſeleſs images, while the crafty agents lurk behind the ſcene! I had previouſly thought, likewiſe, that *plunder* was generally the ſole object for which mobs accumulated and operated. But I now know with certainty that blind party zeal and perſonal hatred may be extremely influential in a riot!

" The unthinking and imprudent part of the populace having got plenty of liquor, which qualified them to execute the meditated miſchief of their malicious prompters, they ſoon aſſembled in the ſtreet before Mr. Falkner's ſhop; their number increaſed, as alſo that of the ſpectators; evening came on, and no material oppoſition being offered by the civil officers, they evidently conſtrued this into a tacit invitation to the commiſſion of unreſtrained depredations. I followed them ſeveral hours, and was aſtoniſhed to ſee them go on in their mad career from hour to hour *uninterrupted*, when I ſincerely believe, half a dozen reſolute men were ſufficient to have diſperſed them; and I am of opinion, that the rioters would have diſperſed themſelves a long time before they did, had they not been repeatedly reanimated by perſons of *reſpectable appearance*, who went among them whenever they ſeemed to droop, and applauded and cheered them, ſometimes with whiſpers, ſometimes with " Church and King for ever, lads, down with the Rump," &c. &c.

" I was an eye and ear witneſs to theſe things.—The mob confined their attention principally to the deſtruction of Mr. Walker's and Mr. Falkner's houſes; I was in St. Mary's church-yard when the rioters came to Mr. Walker's the fourth time; they had broken many windows before, and now

began to break the windows again, and attempt to force open the door with uncommon fury. Mr. Walker informed them he would fire upon them if they did not deſiſt; they treated his admonition with the utmoſt contempt; he then fired over their heads: upon which a few from the ſkirts of the mob diſperſed; but the bulk of them after a very ſhort pauſe, finding they were not fired at, nor injured, miſconſtrued Mr. Walker's lenity, and fell upon the houſe with increaſed fury, when Mr. Walker, or they who were in the houſe with him fired again. The mob then retreated to ſome diſtance, and no miſchief was done afterwards.—A neighbouring magiſtrate, Mr. Bentley, came ſoon after the firing and harangued the rioters upon the impropriety of treating a fellow citizen in ſuch an illegal manner, who, he ſaid, had been ſo great a friend to the town and trade of Manchester. His voice was ſoon ſtifled with "Down with the Rump," &c. &c.—I then followed the rioters to Mr. Falkner's where I ſaw a continuation of their former madneſs and brutality. Some peaceable citizens exclaimed againſt the impropriety and illegality of ſuch proceedings, and often thereby endangered their own lives. I chanced to ſay, that ſuch behaviour was very unfair; when one of them ſaid Mr. Falkner's houſe ought to be pulled down to the ground, and damned them who did not think ſo too, and told me further, that he would knock me down that moment if he knew me to be of the ſame way of thinking with Mr. Falkner!—The mob diſperſed between one and two, as near as I can judge, on Wedneſday morning, and if I may be allowed to give my judgement on the circumſtances, it might with little trouble have been diſperſed at ſix o'clock the preceding evening!"

"DECLARATION *of*——

"Says, he recollects, the riots at the houſes of Falkner and Birch, and of Mr. Walker upon the 11th of December, 1792. Says, that being intimately acquainted with Mr. Birch, he went

went on the evening of the firſt riot with an intent to aſſiſt Falkner and Birch in defending their ſhop: Says, he ſaw the Reverend Mr. Juſtice Griffith among the mob, a quiet ſpectator of the riot: Says, he ran to fetch Mr. Birch that they might apply to Griffith to read the riot act: Says, on their return they could not find Griffith: Says, they went to Griffiths' houſe for the like purpoſe and were told that Griffith was not within: Says, that he and Birch then went to Mr. Bentleys' (a magiſtrate in Newton-lane) about a mile from Mancheſter to deſire he would come and read the riot act: Says, Mr. Bentley at firſt objected on account of the number of magiſtrates who were in Mancheſter, and ſaid he was going to bed; but he ſoon afterwards conſented to come with them: Says, Mr. Bentley, Mr. Birch, and this examinant went to the houſe of Mr. Nath. Milne, the clerk of Mr. Bentley, and to ſeveral other magiſtrates, the clerk to the police of the town of Mancheſter and a coroner for the county: Says, Mr. Milne told this examinant and Birch, that it was a ſcandalous, ſhameful, abominable buſineſs, to call out a magiſtrate on ſuch a trifling piece of buſineſs as the breaking a few windows: That he and a party of conſtables had juſt been at Falkner's and Birch's ſhop, and all was very quiet: That there were only a few windows broken by a few *chance* ſtones: Says, on his telling Milne, that the Birmingham riots began in the ſame manner, Milne ſaid, "they (the conſtables) could keep the town quiet without a magiſtrate:" Says, he told Milne that one of the conſtables, had been called upon in the afternoon ſeveral times to inform him, that there was likely to be a riot, and when Mr. Allen Jackſon had called upon the Conſtable in the evening to ſuppreſs the riots, he was threatened by ſome of the company there to be kicked out of doors: Says, Mr. Milne, ſaid, he wondered how this examinant dared to ſpeak ill of an officer of the town, and upon this examinant ſaying, he thought he had a right to ſpeak the truth, Milne ſaid—"Get out of my houſe."—Says he went out of Milne's houſe, and Birch ſoon followed him, leaving Mr. Bentley at Mr. Milne's.

Milne's. Says, this examinant, and Birch, went to Falkner and Birch's ſhop, and found the mob pelting the windows with ſtones as hard as they could: Says, he called at Mr. Walker's houſe and found a number of perſons aſſembled with a few firelocks to defend the houſe againſt the mob: Says he ſtaid only a few minutes: Says, about eleven o'clock at night he went home: the mob was not then diſperſed; but there were he thought a ſufficient number of perſons to defend Falkner and Birch's ſhop: Says, the evening following he went to Mr. Walker's houſe, another riot being apprehended: Says, one of the chief conſtables was there and ſaid if Mr. Walker would promiſe not to uſe fire arms, he would protect Mr. Walker's and Mr. Falkner's houſes and property: Says, that he, this examinant, immediately adviſed Mr. Walker not to truſt to the conſtables, for they had not given their aſſiſtance when applied to on the preceding evening: the Conſtable ſaid, he had ſome company, and intimated that they had drank a little. Mr. Walker deſired this examinant to ſay no more. Walker ſaid, "the Conſtable was convinced of his error—he is ſorry for it, we can depend upon him to-night."—Says, in his opinion, the civil power prevented a riot on this evening the 12th of December, 1792."

During this time (about ſeven o'clock) a party of the mob came to my houſe, and having broken ſome windows, they went away. Expecting their return, which afterwards happened, and having been informed of the treatment that Mr. Allen Jackſon had met with, I determined to defend myſelf. A gentleman from the country had dined with me; the Conſtitutional Society, on whoſe account all this miſchief ſeems to have been prepared, had met at my houſe that evening, and fortunately, for the *firſt* time, ſeveral members of the Patriotic and Reformation ſocieties were likewiſe there. Foreſeeing the danger I was expoſed to, theſe gentlemen very kindly agreed to aſſiſt me in defending my houſe

houſe and warehouſes, in which my brother and I had manufactured goods and unwrought materials to a very large amount. I then ſet about preparing my arms, and I was ſoon free from any apprehenſion of what might follow, even though I ſhould be left unprotected by the civil power.

However little I might expect from its aſſiſtance, I was determined to give notice that I wiſhed for the interference of its authority; and, therefore, prevailed on Mr. George Wakefield to go to the ſenior conſtable, and to repreſent to him what was going forward. Mr. Wakefield took the market place in his way, the better to judge of the riot. When Mr. Wakefield got to the conſtable's he met with the ſame party, and, in ſome degree, with the ſame treatment as Mr. Allen Jackſon. Mr. Wakefield received the ſame anſwer, namely, "Unite had orders how to act." One of the company inſiſted there was no riot; and another ſaid, upon Mr. Wakefield's repreſenting what had taken place at Falkner's, "I wiſh to God they would raze the houſe to the ground, although it is my own." Upon this, Mr. Wakefield returned to me, and from his information I was convinced, that to prevent the ſcenes of Birmingham from being repeated in Mancheſter, and to ſave our houſes from being burnt and plundered, it was neceſſary to look for ſafety to ourſelves alone.

The mob ſoon returned a ſecond time to my houſe, broke ſome more windows and retreated. The ſame happened a third time; when I attempted to expoſtulate with them, but in vain. The clamour was too loud for me to be heard. During theſe attacks, which took up ſome time, none of the town magiſtrates came to my aſſiſtance, neither the Boroughreeve nor the two chief conſtables, nor the ſpecial conſtables, conſiſting as I have ſtated of near two hundred. We were left to ourſelves, juſt in the ſame manner as Doctor Prieſtley, Mr. Ruſſel, Mr. Humphries, &c. &c. were at Birmingham. A regiment of dragoons was in the town: they got booted and under arms, both officers and men; and, as I am informed, were ready to diſperſe the rioters, but no meaſure was taken

of

of that or any other kind. About ten o'clock the mob returned to my houſe the fourth time. Their rancour was now much increaſed by additional encouragement and liquor (which was given to them at ſeveral places in the town) and not being moleſted in their proceedings by perſons in authority, it was natural for them to regard it as a tacit approbation of their conduct. Fearing leſt ſome of my friends might be too haſty, I locked up all the arms I had, giving the key of the room they were placed in to a gentleman, on whoſe coolneſs I could depend. While the mob kept at a diſtance and contented themſelves with deſtroying my windows, I was under no apprehenſion from their drunken fury. But, at laſt, they ſhewed a reſolution of entering the houſe, breaking the inner ſhutters of a room on the ground floor, and attempting repeatedly to force the ſtreet door. I tried a ſecond time to pacify them, but all was to no purpoſe; at laſt, a ſtone ſtruck me on the head: I then fired into the air. Upon this they retreated a little, but afterwards they returned to the attack. Several muſkets were then fired over their heads, upon which they all ran away: whether any perſons were hurt I have not been able to aſcertain; I hope, and believe, not, as the induſtry of our enemies would not have failed, in that caſe, to have made their names public.

About eleven o'clock, when all was quiet at my houſe, one of the chief conſtables, Mr. Joſeph Hardman, with ſeveral ſpecial conſtables, appeared for the firſt time; ſome of the mob again returned. In company with Mr. Hardman was Mr. Bentley, the neighbouring magiſtrate, already mentioned. I reproached theſe Gentlmen with what I conſidered as moſt negligent conduct, at leaſt, when our manufactures and warehouſes were in danger of being deſtroyed, and the lives of ourſelves and families left to the mercy of an unruly mob, juſt as the caſe was at Birmingham. The gentlemen anſwered but little to this expoſtulation, but were extremely anxious we ſhould fire no more. They ſaid, that if the mob ſhould return again (that was a *fifth* time) to my houſe, I ſhould be protected by the civil power. I aſſured them, that

ſo long as that ſhould be the caſe, nothing was farther from my thoughts than to hurt any one of the multitude, whom I could not help conſidering, as being the mere inſtruments of men with much baſer minds, and of much more ſordid views, although in ſuperior ſtations of life. With this promiſe on my part, the magiſtrate and Mr. Joſeph Hardman went away; and during that night I was moleſted no more. The next morning (December 12th) ſome hundreds of people aſſembled in St. Mary's church-yard before my houſe. Amongſt them was a man haranguing, and reading the contents of a printed paper. What it was I did not hear, nor, could I collect the purport of his ſpeech; but I have ſince repeatedly been told, that he urged them ſtrongly to pull down my houſe, or to ſet it on fire;* and that the paper was of a moſt inflammatory nature.

Not having any dread of an Engliſh mob, when they are ſober, as theſe people then ſeemed to be, I went out to them, and expoſtulated on the proceedings of the laſt night. When I firſt went out, I was received with the cry of "Jacobin, damn the Jacobins, damn Tom Paine, down with the Rump," but after a ſhort addreſs to them on the impropriety of their conduct on the preceding evening, and a declaration, that I ſhould, under the ſame circumſtances, defend my houſe in the ſame manner again, if it was again attacked, I went away with little exclamation on their part, and no moleſtation. About two hours after this, the two chief conſtables, with ſeveral of the inhabitants, came to my houſe, and repeated the propoſal made by the magiſtrate upon the preceding evening.

In the evening of this day, (Dec. 12th) a large party of people collected in the ſtreets, and there was ſome reaſon to apprehend a repetition of the former outrages. Several of my friends, therefore, ſtaid with me. Thoſe who came to me upon ſuch an occaſion, were not likely to be much attached

* Compare this with the converſation in the note, p. 44.

to High-Church principles. During the courſe of the evening, one of the moſt reſpectable characters of the town of Mancheſter came to me, as from authority, and told me, that, among the perſons in my houſe, were ſome very obnoxious to the populace; and that, while they ſtaid with me, it was impoſſible to anſwer for the ſafety of my houſe and warehouſes; but, if they were diſmiſſed, I might be aſſured the peace-officers would be able to protect me. The ſuggeſtion of turning out of my houſe any of thoſe friends, who, from perſonal regard to me, and at a perſonal riſque to themſelves, had come to aſſiſt in my protection, I did not comply with.

As from the preparations I had made for ſelf-defence, the rioters were in much more danger, than myſelf, the evening (notwithſtanding the multitudes of people who aſſembled with their uſual cries of, "Church and King," &c.) paſſed off without any attack upon my premiſes; and the civil power prevented the mob from approaching my houſe. But, they went into other quarters of the town, where the ſame precautions, which I had taken, were not uſed; and they deſtroyed, without interruption, the windows and furniture of a houſe in Great Newton-ſtreet, (William Gorſe's) where the Reformation Society had been accuſtomed to aſſemble. On the 12th and 13th appeared the two advertiſements inſerted in the note, * which, I cannot help thinking, furniſh matter for doubt and reflection upon the contents, and the motives of them.

"*Committee Room, Bull's-Head, Dec.* 12, 1792.

* "Whereas, at a meeting of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Mancheſter, aſſembled by public advertiſement *yeſterday*, for the purpoſe of preſenting an addreſs to his Majeſty, in conſequence of his late gracious Proclamation, it was *unanimouſly agreed*, that an Aſſociation ſhould be formed for the purpoſe of *preſerving Liberty, Order, and Property*, when a Committee was appointed; which Committee, having aſſembled at the Bull's Head this morning, declare that the firſt object of this aſſociation is to ſupport the Laws, to protect the inhabitants of this country from every kind of violence—to diſcourage,

them. Upon occaſion of theſe riots I thought fit to publiſh the following addreſs, which produced the correſpondence ſubſequently inſerted:

"*To the* INHABITANTS *of* MANCHESTER.

"I have for a long time regarded the various calumnies ſo induſtriouſly circulated againſt me by the enemies of Liberty with the contempt they deſerved. As they never diſturbed my

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courage, by every means in their power, any attempt to break in upon the good order of ſociety: Such Committee, therefore, take the earlieſt opportunity of *declaring* the concern they feel, that any perſons ſhould have been induced, by any motive whatever, to attempt to commit violence againſt the perſon or property of ſome of their townſmen, as they underſtand was the caſe laſt night, and they are determined to ſupport the *Boroughreeve and Conſtables*, in preventing any ſuch attempts *in future*; they, therefore, *invite* all their fellow townſmen to unite in promoting ſo laudable a deſign, and to exert themſelves in preventing every meeting of others, that is likely to produce riot and diſorder.

"They think it neceſſary, alſo, to inform the public, that any damage done to the property of others, muſt be paid by the Hundred, to which every individual muſt contribute his ſhare. The perſons of individuals are EQUALLY protected by the Laws, and they THANK GOD, that by the happy form of our Government, no man is, or can be, puniſhed for any crime, unleſs he is convicted by a Jury of his countrymen."

This advertiſement was ſigned by the Boroughreeve and Conſtables, and ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of the town. It is ſingular, 1ſt, that they are reſolved to prevent ſuch attempts *in future*; and ſecondly, that on the very night when the aſſociation for the protection of LIBERTY, ORDER, AND PROPERTY was formed, my houſe, Mr. Falkner's, and Mr. Collier's, ſhould be moſt riotouſly attacked; and, on the ſubſequent night, when this advertiſement was iſſued, William Gorſe's houſe was attacked, and his property deſtroyed.

"MANCHESTER ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE, for preſerving the Peace and good Order of the Town, aſſembled at the Bull's Head, Thurſday, Dec. 13, 1792.

"RESOLVED,

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to the gentlemen of this town, and particularly the ſpecial conſtables, who gave their aſſiſtance laſt night in preſerving

my peace of mind, I never thought it worth while to trouble my friends or the public with a refutation of them. But, ſince the violent and unjuſtifiable attacks upon my perſon and my property, to which I have been expoſed for ſome days paſt, it has become abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome appeal to the public on my own behalf.

" I purpoſely omit (at leaſt for the preſent) the many circumſtances preceding the attempt upon my houſe on Tueſday evening laſt, except, that I and all my friends, (ſo far as I know) for the ſake of peace, purpoſely abſented ourſelves from the meeting held that day to addreſs upon the late Proclamations. But having ſuſtained the fury of the mob in three ſeveral attacks—having had the greateſt part of the windows in front of my houſe broken—and an inſide ſhutter on the ground floor forced by a ſtone—having ſpoken to the people, and diſcharged a muſquetoon, in the air, to warn them againſt perſevering in a fourth attack, which they had then commenced with increaſed violence—having, during the whole of this long continued ſcene of confuſion, heard nothing from the Civil Power, but a verbal meſſage, (by means of a friend whom I ſent) that directions had been given to the Deputy Conſtable——there remained no other poſſible means of preventing the rioters from forcing themſelves into my dwelling, but to fire. This was done from a perfect

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ſerving the peace of the town; to the inhabitants in general for their peaceable behaviour; and to thoſe few, who had collected from motives of curioſity, for their readineſs to diſperſe, upon being applied to for that purpoſe.

" AND THIS MEETING REQUEST, That every friend to the town will ſhew his deſire to ſupport the laws, and preſerve good order, by bringing forward to the conſtables any perſon, who ſhall endeavour to excite tumult.

" NATHAN CROMPTON, Chairman for the Day."

The perſons thus thanked for their peaceable behaviour ſurely are not the mob, who *would* have pulled my *houſe* down, and who *did* deſtroy William Goſſe's!

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conviction of the *neceſſity* of the meaſure; and however harſh the remedy, it proved effectual on the occaſion.—Three or four perſons, I have been told, were ſlightly hurt, but I cannot hear certainly whether it be ſo or not.

"This was *paſt* ten o'clock at night. *After* this diſcharge of fire arms, a Magiſtrate and ſome of the Conſtables came to my houſe, and took much pains to diſperſe the rioters; and on their engaging to protect my perſon and property, I engaged to fire no more, unleſs in conſequence of their being unable to perform their promiſe, and on the preſſure of the moſt imminent neceſſity. This promiſe I faithfully obſerved. Since Tueſday night, I and my family have been kept in conſtant anxiety, and at my preſent writing (Thurſday evening) ſome danger is yet apprehended. Much, indeed, I ſhould have undergone, but for the vigilance, ſpirit, and warm attachment of my numerous friends both within my houſe and out of it, to whom I owe much more than it is poſſible for me to expreſs.

"For myſelf, and for the cauſe of the people, I thank God, that no charge of riot, or tumult, or diſaffection, or ſedition, has ever yet been made with the ſlighteſt plea of reaſon, againſt thoſe, whom I have the honour to call my Friends—the Friends of the People: otherwiſe, I doubt not, moſt eagerly would the pretext have been ſeized.

"Why, then, have I been inſulted?—Whom have I injured, or what offence have I committed? What concealment has there been in any part of my public conduct? If there be *no* charge againſt me, why have I been thus attacked?

"If it be a crime to endeavour to enlighten the minds of the People reſpecting their juſt rights, I have been guilty of this crime, and to the end of my days I ſhall live in the commiſſion of it.

"Is

" Is it a crime to glory in the title of being the Friend of the POOR? I am guilty of it, for I do, and ſhall, ever glory in a title ſo reſpectable.

" Is it a crime to wiſh the more indigent members of ſociety eaſed from ſome of the numerous taxes, which they pay in the purchaſe of every neceſſary of life? To wiſh them better lodged, and better fed, and *better inſtructed?* I am guilty of theſe crimes.

" Is it a crime to wiſh the Britiſh Conſtitution reſtored to its original purity, and the whole Syſtem of Repreſentation freed from Perjury and Corruption?—Of this too I am guilty.

" Of every good wiſh to mankind and to my country—I am guilty. If the laws of the land have been violated by my conduct, let me be puniſhed ACCORDING TO LAW; but let not the character of the Britiſh Nation be ſtained by the baſe and illiberal perſecution of one of its moſt ſincere well-wiſhers.

" THOMAS WALKER."

" *Mancheſter*, 13*th Dec.* 1792."

" SHEFFIELD SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, &c.

" *Committee Meeting, Jan.* 11, 1793.

" Reſolved unanimouſly, that the Letter of Condolence tranſmitted from this Committee to Mr. Thomas Walker, of Mancheſter, on the occaſion of the late violent attack on his perſon and property, and which received the approbation of all the different Diſtricts of this Society, at their laſt fortnight meetings, together with his anſwer thereto, be inſerted in the public newſpapers.

" DAVID MARTIN, Chairman."

" *Committee*

" *Committee Meeting, Dec.* 19, 1792.

" Impreſſed with unfeigned ſorrow, and actuated by the moſt affectionate eſteem and reſpect, this Committee think it their duty at this time to expreſs their ſentiments of condolence to Mr. Thomas Walker, of Mancheſter, on an occaſion when the Laws of their country—when Liberty and Juſtice have been rudely violated, in the wanton and unprovoked attack made by a lawleſs banditti on his perſon and property, on Tueſday evening the 11th inſtant.

" It is not only for their patriotic brother, and friend (whoſe only offence has been a ſteady attachment to the cauſe of freedom) that they feel the ſenſations of ſorrow and regret: they feel alſo for their country—their liberties—and they feel for their dark and deluded countrymen, whom they believe to be the tools of an arbitrary faction, intent on the deſtruction of thoſe who dare boldly and openly avow themſelves the firm advocates of Civil and Religious Liberty.

" The Committee requeſt Mr. Walker to accept this as a tribute of their applauſe and approbation, ſentiments which they are convinced prevail throughout the whole body of their ſociety, of his intrepid and manly perſeverance in defence of the glorious cauſe of Freedom, and the inſulted Rights of Engliſhmen.

" They alſo beg leave to aſſure Mr. Walker, that though they regret the diſagreeable neceſſity of his firing on the rioters, yet they perfectly approve and juſtify his conduct on the doctrine of ſelf-defence.

" By order of the Committee,

" MATTHEW DODWORTH, Chairman.
" JAMES HORSFIELD, Secretary.

" To Mr. Thomas Walker, Mancheſter."

MR.

MR. WALKER's ANSWER.

" *Friends and Fellow Citizens,*

" I have received with the moſt heart-felt ſatisfaction your affectionate condolence on the late outrageous and unprovoked attack upon my perſon and my property, by a deluded, ignorant, and lawleſs banditti, inſtigated and encouraged, I have great reaſon to believe, by thoſe who ſhould have known better. No little pains have been taken to repreſent the late outrages, as a conſequence of the general diſapprobation of the conduct and proceedings of the advocates for a Reform in the preſent inadequate ſtate of the Repreſentation of the People; but this, I am very confident, is by no means the fact. The people, if not warm advocates for Reform, are decided enemies to that levelling ſyſtem of anarchy and confuſion, which was commenced againſt Mr. Falkner and myſelf, and which, had it ſucceeded, I am equally convinced, was intended to have been carried into execution againſt the Friends of Freedom generally.

" To whatever lengths it might have been the intention of the mob to have proceeded, the friends of Deſpotiſm have little cauſe for exultation, if in ſuch a cauſe it is poſſible to exult, when they reflect upon the paucity of their numbers compared with the population of this town and neighbourhood.

" How ſtriking is the contraſt between the conduct of the Enemies of Freedom in Mancheſter, and the Friends of Liberty in Sheffield!

" Had I fired at a much earlier period than I did, I ſhould have been perfectly juſtifiable; but at the time I was compelled to have recourſe to that ſevere remedy, I applied it to intimidate the rioters, and not either to maim or to kill;

looking upon the misguided multitude, not as my enemies, but as wretched tools, in the hands of a more wretched and most unprincipled faction.

"Of this be assured, that unless the people cease to entertain a proper sense of their own interest, no trial to which it is possible for a man to be exposed, shall ever make me relax my efforts to promote the prosperity of my country, and the happiness of the human race.

"In the firm persuasion that truth will prevail, believe me,

"Friends and Fellow Citizens,

"Most sincerely and most affectionately,

"Yours,

"THOMAS WALKER."

"*Manchester, Dec.* 25, 1792.

"To the Sheffield Constitutional Society, &c.

Copy of a Letter addressed to Mr. Walker, by the Boroughreeve and Constables, through the Channel of the three Manchester Newspapers.

"Manchester, Jan. 25, 1793.

"MR. THOMAS WALKER,

"*Sir,*

"Your Letter of the 25th December, 1792, addressed to the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information, having appeared in all the Manchester newspapers of last week, We, *(as Boroughreeve and Constables of the town of Manchester, and solicitous for the discovery and punishment of all instigators of riot, disorder, and faction,)* conceive ourselves entitled to some explanations on the following passages of such letter.

" The lawleſs banditti, as I have great reaſon to believe, " inſtigated and encouraged by thoſe who ſhould have " known better."

How, and by whom were they inſtigated and encouraged?

" And if it had ſucceeded, I am convinced it was *intended* " to have been carried into execution againſt the friends of " reform in general."

" This *intention*, of which *you are convinced*, is manifeſtly aſcribed to thoſe who ſhould have known better.—The public have a right to know, and we aſk, what is the exiſting evidence of ſuch intention?

" Looking upon the miſguided multitude, not as my " enemies, but as wretched tools in the hands of a more " wretched and moſt unprincipled Faction," &c.

" Of whom does this Faction conſiſt? For the honour of thoſe who are not implicated in the indiſcriminate charges of your Letter, and for the ſake of public juſtice, we truſt the preceding Queries will be ſatisfactorily anſwered.

" Signed

" JAMES ACKERS, *Boroughreeve.*
" JOHN LEAF,
" JOSEPH HARDMAN, } *Conſtables.*"

Mr. WALKER'S ANSWER.

" Mr. JAMES ACKERS, *Boroughreeve.*
" Mr. JOHN LEAF,
AND
" Mr. JOSEPH HARDMAN, } *Conſtables.*

" *Gentlemen,*

" I ſincerely hope that you did not perceive the very improper tendency of your joint letter to me; and that the public

public is rather to think it inconſiderate, than deſigning.—" *Solicitous for the diſcovery and puniſhment of all inſtigators of riot, diſorder, and faction;*" your preſent exertion is only calculated to obſtruct the injured, and to warn the guilty; to baffle enquiry, and to interrupt the purſuit of that evidence, which, I thank God, the negligence of malice, however cautious and cunning, will enable me to obtain.—As men in official ſituations, you ought to know, that it is neither cuſtomary nor legal; as gentlemen you ought to ſee, that it is neither fair, nor honourable, to call upon a man to produce what evidence he poſſeſſes againſt the inſtigators of a riot, the object of which was the deſtruction of his property, and of his life, before his friends and his counſel have judged it expedient to produce that evidence either at the bar of the public, or before a jury of his country.

" I am truly glad to underſtand, that you are " *ſolicitous for* " *the diſcovery and puniſhment of all inſtigators of riot, diſorder,* " *and faction,*" becauſe I am ſatisfied no gentlemen can have better means of information. It would, indeed, have been as well, if this ſolicitude had appeared in an earlier ſtage of this ſerious buſineſs; and it remains with you to ſtate to the public, how it has happened that the Boroughreeve and Conſtables of Mancheſter, " *ſolicitous for the diſcovery and* " *puniſhment of all inſtigators of riot, diſorder, and faction,*" have not taken *one ſingle* rioter into cuſtody, when it is notorious that many perſons tumultuouſly aſſembled together three ſucceſſive nights, and committed acts of outrage upon each of thoſe nights, by attacking the houſes either of Matthew Falkner, William Gorſe, Joſeph Collier, or myſelf.

" It will not be eaſy, gentlemen, to compenſate for your ſupineneſs, where it was your duty to be active, by your officiouſneſs, where it is your duty to be quiet; nor can you now, by harraſſing me in my endeavours to obtain juſtice, atone for your former lenity towards the diſturbers of the public peace.

" Denying your right to put interrogatories to me in any manner whatever, I ſhall not give you " the exiſting evidence" upon which my conviction was founded, that if the *levelling* ſyſtem of anarchy and confuſion commenced againſt Mr. Falkner and myſelf had ſucceeded, it was intended to have been carried into execution againſt the Friends of Reform in general; but for the ſatisfaction of the public, I ſhall prove I was not ſingular in that opinion, by giving the extract of a letter from a man, highly reſpectable for his abilities, his property, and his integrity; and in juſtice to myſelf, I may alſo add, that I have received many other letters from various parts of the kingdom to the ſame purport, and from men of the above deſcription.—The extract to which I allude is as follows—

" Though I have but a moment's time, I cannot addreſs you without expreſſing my concern for the unmerited anxiety you have lately been put to, by the bigotry and very blameable conduct of ſome of your townſmen—but in truth they need my ſympathy more than you do, as your proper, ſpirited and commendable behaviour, under the circumſtances you were in, muſt be a ſatisfaction to all your friends, and deſerves the thanks of both parties; of the friends of liberty for the prevention of a wide ſpreading miſchief that might probably otherwiſe have befallen them; and of the offending party, for putting an early ſtop to enormities that would for ever have diſgraced them."

" You aſk—" of whom does that faction conſiſt," which I have reprobated as wretched and unprincipled, " for the " honour of thoſe who are not implicated in the charge?"—I will freely tell you of whom it does *not* conſiſt. It does *not* conſiſt of the honeſt, the generous, or the brave; of the liberal, or the well-informed; it does *not* conſiſt—of thoſe who abhor perſecution, rancour, and malignity; it does *not* conſiſt—of men who are incapable of writing and propagating anonymous ſlander, or of encouraging ſpies and informers. Having

now

now done with you, gentlemen, I ſhall embrace the opportunity which you have afforded me, of addreſſing myſelf

"TO THE PEOPLE,

"Requeſting their attention to the preſent intereſting, and truly critical ſituation of public affairs, and recommending to them to examine coolly and impartially, the writings, but above all the *actions* of thoſe, who lay claim to the title of their friends, and who are on that account branded with every epithet that miſrepreſentation and the fouleſt ſlander can invent. I ſhall requeſt them to examine with that ſerioufneſs which the ſubject demands, whether in the conduct of the Friends of Freedom, either here or elſewhere, there is any thing which is not directed to promote the proſperity of this country, and the happineſs of mankind.

"*Firſt, with reſpect to a Parliamentary Reform,*

"The neceſſity of which is ſo obvious, and the advantages, which would reſult from its attainment ſo ſelf-evident, that I ſhall confine myſelf to the explanation of my meaning upon this very important ſubject.

"By a Parliamentary Reform, I mean a RADICAL and EFFECTUAL REFORM in the Repreſentation of the PEOPLE; that obtained, I for one ſhall be ſatisfied, nor have I any further views, nor any deſign, as has been falſely and induſtriouſly inſinuated, to attempt to alter or to deſtroy the Conſtitution of this Country; my ſole object, and that of every man with whom I have the honour to think, to act—and to correſpond upon this great object, is not to *innovate*, but to *renovate*, and to reſtore the Conſtitution to its ANCIENT PURITY.

"*Secondly, with reſpect to the Liberty of the Preſs,*

"The preſervation of which is ſo eſſential to our very exiſtence as a free People, that I ſhould have conceived it impoſſible

impoſſible that any man, or ſet of men, would have been weak enough, or wicked enough, to have made any ſerious attack upon ſo ſacred a right at the cloſe of the 18th century. However, it is with pleaſure far greater than I can expreſs, that I ſee a ſtandard erected for its preſervation by men the moſt diſtinguiſhed for integrity, ability, and property in this country; a ſtandard, which I am confident every diſintereſted and unprejudiced man will eagerly fly to, and around which, even the timid and the cautious may with the utmoſt ſafety rally. Annexed is an extract from the declaration agreed upon at a Meeting of the Friends of the Liberty of the Preſs, which was held upon Saturday the 19th inſtant, at the Crown and Anchor in London.*

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* "The preſs, therefore, as it is to be affected by Aſſociations of individuals, that fetter its general freedom, wholly unconnected with any attacks upon private character, is a very different conſideration. For if the nation is to be combined to ſuppreſs writings without further deſcribing what thoſe writings are, than by the general denomination ſeditious; and if the exertions of thoſe combinations are not even to be confined to ſuppreſs and puniſh the circulation of books already condemned by the judgments of courts, but are to extend to whatever does not happen to fall in with their private judgments—if every writing is to be proſecuted which they may not have the ſenſe to underſtand, or the virtue to practice—if no man is to write but upon their principles, nor can read with ſafety, except what they have written, leſt he ſhould accidentally talk of what he has read—no man will venture either to write or to ſpeak upon the topics of government or its adminiſtration; a freedom which has ever been acknowledged by our greateſt Stateſmen and Lawyers to be the principal ſafeguard of that conſtitution which liberty of thought originally created, and which a free preſs for its circulation gradually brought to maturity.

"We will, therefore, maintain and aſſert, by all legal means, the ſacred and eſſential privilege of every other parent and guardian. We will maintain and aſſert the right of inſtructing our fellow-ſubjects by every ſincere and conſcientious communication which may promote the public happineſs, and while we render obedience to government and to law, we will remember at the ſame time, that as they exiſt by the people's conſent, and for the people's benefit, they have a right to examine their principles, to watch over their due execution, and to preſerve the beautiful ſtructure of their Conſtitution,

By

" The declaration and proceedings of that day are what every man ought to read; and to engrave deeply upon his heart the principles there ſo manfully and ſo ably inculcated.

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by pointing out as they ariſe, thoſe defects and corruptions, which the hand of time never fails to ſpread over the wiſeſt of human inſtitutions.

" If in the legal and peaceable aſſertion of this freedom we ſhall be calumniated and perſecuted, we muſt be contented to ſuffer in the cauſe of freedom as our fathers before us have ſuffered. But we will, like our fathers alſo, perſevere until we prevail.

" Let us however recollect with ſatisfaction, that the law, as it ſtands at this very moment, thanks to our illuſtrious patriot Mr. FOX, is amply ſufficient for the protection of the Preſs, if the country will be but true to itſelf. The extent of the genuine Liberty of the Preſs, on general ſubjects, and the boundaries which ſeparate them from licentiouſneſs, the Engliſh law has wiſely not attempted to define. They are indeed in their nature undefinable, and it is the office of the jury alone, taken from the country, in each particular inſtance to aſcertain them, and the truſt of the Crown where no individual is ſlandered, to ſelect the inſtances for trial, by its Miniſters reſponſible to Parliament.

" This ſyſtem appears to us amply to ſecure the government, while it protects the ſubject. But if this ſelection is to be transferred to ſelf-conſtituted aſſemblies of men, agitated and inflamed by a zeal, however honeſt, the preſs muſt be broken up, and individuals muſt purchaſe their ſafety by ignorance and ſilence. In ſuch a ſtate, we admit that the other liberties which we enjoy under the laws, might, nevertheleſs, continue as long as government might happen to be juſtly adminiſtered; but ſhould corruption or ambition ever direct their efforts againſt them, the nation would be ſurprized and enſlaved—ſurpriſed by the loſs of their wakeful ſentinels, whom they had ſhot for only being at their poſts, and enſlaved from the loſs of their armour, which their adverſary, under the pretence of a treaty, had cajoled them to throw away.

" But theſe evils become not only greater, but abſolutely intolerable, when extended to the ſtimulation of ſpies, to ſtab domeſtic peace, to watch for the innocent in the hours devoted to convivial happineſs, and to diſturb the ſweet repoſe of private life, on the boſom of friendſhip and truth.

" It

"The Friends of Freedom have always proved themſelves the enemies of anarchy and confuſion, and I am confident they are too well informed and too well diſpoſed ever to act contrary to their principles. At the ſame time, they will do well never to loſe ſight of that *union, perſeverance,* and FIRMNESS which are eſſential to inſure ſucceſs even to the cauſe of truth itſelf. "It is into the heart and ſpirit of man you muſt look for reformation, elſe all is vague and uſeleſs."

"It may not be improper here to remark upon the preſent uncertainty of what in this country may now be deemed "ſeditious." REEVES and his aſſociations may perhaps deem that to be ſeditious, which our fellow citizens in Scotland and in Ireland would conſider as the pureſt patriotiſm—and it is poſſible that a man might be indicted in England, for an act, which in Ireland, the virtuous citizens of that country would highly approve, nay even for the very act which at this moment is ſanctioned by the Iriſh Legiſlature itſelf.

"*Thirdly, with reſpect to War,*

"What has been the conduct of the friends of Freedom, in every part of the Britiſh empire, upon this impending calamity? What, but to point out the evils inſeparable from war, and to endeavour to avert as far as in them lay; an

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"It is juſtly obſerved, by the celebrated Judge Forſter, that words are tranſitory and fleeting, eaſily forgotten, and ſubject to miſtaken interpretation.

"Their very exiſtence at all, and their criminality, as depending upon context, or ſequel, or occaſion, all is to reſt upon the oaths of hired informers.

"Is this in the end of the 18th century, to be the condition of our chearful country? Are theſe to be our chains? And are we, after we have broken them on the heads of Tyrants, in former ages, to ſit down to forge them again for ourſelves, and to faſten them upon one another?"

event

event which cannot but be particularly injurious to the trade and commerce of this country, and fatal to the property, to the happineſs, and to the lives of many thouſands of their fellow creatures? What intereſt have they, diſtinct from the pooreſt of their fellow citizens?

"Is it a crime to rejoice in the emancipation of ſo many millions of the human race from the yoke of the moſt degrading ſlavery?—Is it probable that ſo great a good could be obtained without ſome exceſſes being committed? But in return, Is it not right to conſider—whether thoſe evils which *juſtice* muſt condemn, and which *humanity muſt* deplore, did not ariſe more from the *oppoſition to the good*, than from the purſuit of it?

"Having now concluded all I have to obſerve at this time, I ſhall for the preſent take leave of the public, with that reſpect which I have always profeſſed for them, and which I truſt I have always ſhewn; and ſhall only add, that to their opinion, when *fairly* and *impartially* taken, I ſhall always ſubmit; and [doing violence for a moment even to poſſibility] ſuppoſing that the *majority* ſhould ever become advocates for the *ſlaviſh* doctrines of *divine right, paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance*; I ſhould upon my own principles, not oppoſe their WILL. But if the people of Great-Britain are, what I take them to be, the *true* deſcendants of their illuſtrious anceſtors, no hazard of my perſon or of my property ſhall ever deter me from ſupporting to the utmoſt of my abilities, *the* RIGHTS *of the People.*

"THOMAS WALKER.

"*Mancheſter, Jan.* 31, 1793."

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"Mr. Walker's Letter, in the Mancheſter Herald of the 2d inſtant, which he calls a Reply to our Queries of the 25th January laſt, upon the ſubject of his unexplained *Imputations*

in a former Letter, has neceſſarily obliged us to trouble the public with the following Obſervations.

" Whatever may be the opinion of Mr. Walker or his Counſel, we (" for the ſake of public Juſtice") ſhould be equally " thankful *if the charges complained of were fully ſubſtantiated* by that Evidence which the negligence of malice, however cunning and cautious, might enable Mr. Walker to obtain.—

" But after aſſertions in the ſhape of facts, highly, yet indiſcriminately impeaching the inhabitants of this Town, unaccompanied by any intimation of legal proceedings, and even without any previous *Information to the Civil Officers* (who have no means of obtaining *it*, except from Mr. Walker, whoſe baſe Inſinuations they deſpiſe) are *induſtriouſly* publiſhed to the world, we have yet to learn that it is *illegal*, unfair, or diſhonourable in ſuch officers to call upon the publiſher, to point out thoſe peſts of ſociety, againſt whom his accuſations are intended, that they may have their deſerts, and the public injury be repaired through the *only legal mode* of a criminal proſecution—On the contrary, our ſilence at this moment muſt have been a crime not to be atoned for.

" The *aſſumed candour* and patriotiſm of Mr. Walker led us to expect the moſt unequivocal and ſatisfactory explanations; but ſhrinking from this duty, he turns again to the malevolence of accuſation, and reprehends our conduct in the late unfortunate tumult.

" It is unneceſſary to tell the public, becauſe they know the fact, whether it was by the vigilance, activity, prudence, and perſeverance of the Peace Officers, *under the immediate direction of the Magiſtrates*, or by the violent proweſs of Mr. Walker, *(who fired* upon the people WITH SLUGS,* *not to maim or kill, but merely to intimidate)* that the diſorder at length happily ſubſided.

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* This is falſe.

" Mr.

" Mr. Walker, or his Counſel, cannot doubt *any man's right*, as well as that of a Peace Officer, to *apprehend* offenders when in the actual commiſſion of outrage.

" The ſtate of the perſons aſſembled (in a town of extreme population) did not, however, in common prudence, warrant ſuch a proceeding, but the more lenient and efficacious one adopted—otherwiſe Mr. Walker's " numerous friends without" would certainly have exerciſed *this right of apprehenſion.*—

" The reply to our ſecond Query is an evaſion unworthy the liberal and well informed. He (Mr. Walker) denies the Right of putting Interrogatories—refuſes the exiſting *Evidence* of his *Conviction*, and in an inſtant ſtumbles upon the Truth, by *changing* the importance of *Conviction* into a mere unfounded *Opinion*, which, by the way, he is anxious to free from ſingularity, by an extract of a Letter—but when, by whom, and (which is infinitely more material) upon *whoſe* and *what Repreſentation of Facts* this Letter was written, the public muſt be kept entirely ignorant.—

" Is this conſiſtent with the profeſſions of an *ingenuous* patriotic man, *whoſe Actions are* always *open* and undiſguiſed, *and who aſſerts nothing without proof?*

" As an Anſwer to the third Query, viz. Of whom does this Faction conſiſt? We are told " it does not conſiſt of the honeſt, " the generous, or the brave, of the liberal, or the well-informed; " it does not conſiſt of thoſe who abhor Perſecution, *Rancour*, " and *Malignity*, nor of men who are incapable of writing and " propagating anonymous Slander, or of encouraging Spies " and Informers."—

" Do theſe *Negatives* amount to any diſcriminative Intelligence, or are they not *unbluſhingly* intended as additional Inſults to the Honour and Juſtice of the People?—They are

indeed Truiſms not to be controverted; for in this mighty collection of Words, nothing more is literally expreſſed *(whatever may be the intent)* than that a good man is not a bad man, or vice verſa.

" Mr. Walker may exult in the uſe of ſuch paltry Subterfuges *(as the happy iſſue of a Week's Preparation)* to elude the moſt plain and proper Queſtions, but the Public *(and not Mr. Walker)* are now to decide, under all the Circumſtances, whether thoſe Queſtions ought not to have been fully and fairly anſwered, and whether our Meaſures deſerve their Cenſure, or Approbation.

" Leaving this Gentleman to his favourite Aberrations from the point in queſtion, by every *modeſt Aſſumption* of popular Friendſhip and unbounded Patriotiſm, and alſo to *his Monopoly* in the Diſcernment and Guardianſhip of the *eſſential* Rights of the People, we muſt apologize to the Public for this involuntary Engagement of their Attention, with the *firmeſt Determination* however of troubling *them no more* upon any thing which the *inventive Faculty* of Mr. Walker can poſſibly inſinuate, or produce.

" In the fulleſt confidence that *Truth will prevail*,

" We are the Public's moſt faithful,

" Reſpectful and obedient Servants,

" JAMES ACKERS, Boroughreeve,
" JOHN LEAF,
" JOSEPH HARDMAN, } Conſtables, } of *Manchester*.

Manchester, 4th *February*, 1793."

Salford,

Salford, February 8, 1793.

" JAMES ACKERS, Eſq; Boroughreeve.
" Mr. JOHN LEAF, } Conſtables.
" Mr. JOSEPH HARDMAN, }

" *Gentlemen,*

" The public requiſition you have made to Mr. Thomas Walker, for an explanation on certain paſſages contained in his Anſwer to a Letter of Condolence from a Society (calling themſelves the Conſtitutional Society) at Sheffield : Your juſt, manly and ſpirited Rejoinder to his vague, illuſive and ridiculous Reply to ſuch Requiſition, juſtly entitles you to the warmeſt applauſe of every inhabitant.

" At a Meeting of the Conſtitutional Aſſociation for protecting Liberty and Property from Republicans and Levellers, eſtabliſhed at the Crown and Cuſhion, in Salford, held this day,

" It was unanimouſly reſolved,

" That the Thanks of this Aſſociation be preſented to you, for your zeal and attention to the public welfare, your conſtant exertions for the preſervation of peace and tranquillity, but more eſpecially for defending the inhabitants of this town from the falſe calumnies and malignant imputations thrown out againſt them, and the method you have purſued againſt the reſtleſs and evil diſpoſed author thereof.

" By Order of this Aſſociation,

" R. BRIDDOCK, Chairman."

" *Mancheſter,*

"*Manchester, February* 15, 1793.

"At a Meeting of the Associated Loyalists, held at Mr. Matthew Green's, Blackmoor's Head, Old Church-yard, for the purpose of supporting our present Constitution against its Enemies, the Friends of Anarchy and Murder:

"JAMES ACKERS, Esq; Boroughreeve.
"Mr. JOHN LEAF, } Constables.
"Mr. JOSEPH HARDMAN, }

"*Gentlemen,*

"Unanimously resolved;

"That the Thanks of this Society be presented to you, for your late Exertions to preserve the Peace and Tranquillity of this Town in your official capacities; and also for your just and spirited Answers to Mr. Thomas Walker's false, infamous, and ridiculous Charge; and for defending of this Town from the gross and invidious imputations which have been basely thrown out against the true Supporters of the present happy and glorious Constitution.

"JOHN COOPER, President."

Upon the spirit that dictated these advertisements (which appeared in the Manchester newspapers,) and upon the facts and reasonings in the foregoing Correspondence, the reader must make his own comments.

The riots at Manchester, so similar in their origin and progress to the disgraceful proceedings at Birmingham, were too important to the public tranquillity to remain unnoticed by the legislature of the country. Accordingly they were mentioned in due terms of abhorrence by Mr. Fox and Mr. Grey, in the House of Commons, on December the 17th, 1792.

In reply to the observations of Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham made a speech, of which the following is an extract:—

"Mr.

" Mr. Windham replied to Mr. Fox. The Houſe had di-
" rected no proſecutions on either ſide, and, therefore, could
" not be charged with partiality. The law was equally
" open in all caſes. The indignation excited againſt Mr.
" Walker, was much more fairly imputable to his political
" opinions, than to his being a Diſſenter. It was natural,
" and even juſtifiable, for men to feel indignation againſt
" thoſe who promulgated doctrines, threatening all that was
" valuable and dear in ſociety ; *and if there were not means of*
" *redreſs by law, even violence would be juſtifiable.* But we had
" laws, therefore violence ought to be puniſhed ; and on this
" ground he defended the Aſſociations, as tending to pre-
" vent violence by giving vigour to the law."

Debrett's Parliamentary Regiſter, Vol. XXXIV. Page 165.

I hope the reader will indulge me while I make ſome re-
marks on the preceding extract. Mr. Windham is now in
the Miniſtry : he is the Miniſter at War : he is re-elected for
Norwich. Important as the ſituations are, which he now fills,
it is important alſo for the ſame reaſons, that the public ſhould
be apprized of the principles and practice of the man, whoſe
character and conduct have induced his Majeſty to raiſe him
to the poſt he now occupies.

" *The Houſe had directed no proſecutions on either ſide, and there-*
" *fore could not be charged with partiality :*" Mr. Windham has
the reputation of being a moſt acute reaſoner ; a great logician ;
but to me, a man of plain and common underſtanding, this
obſervation affords a bad ſpecimen of his reputed abilities.

It was ſtated to the Houſe that my dwelling was repeatedly
attacked ; that other perſons alſo at Mancheſter had ſuffered
in their habitations and their property, by means of a lawleſs
Mob, unreſtrained by the Civil power till the miſchief was
done. There was no complaint on the part of the Mob, or

of

of the Civil power at Manchester: there was no fact stated by which it appeared that I had even hurt one human creature in defending myself. The facts and complaints were all on one side. How, therefore, could the House direct prosecutions on both? They might have directed an *enquiry* to take place; but surely it would have been hard to have directed the injured to be prosecuted by the Law, after having been thus persecuted by the Mob. Such, however, was Mr. Windham's notion of Impartiality!

Again: Prosecutions were directed against the Rioters at Birmingham—Why not therefore against the similar Rioters at Manchester? Some slight suspicion of partiality might surely arise upon this tender concern for the one town, and carelessness about the other.

"*The Law was equally open in all cases.*" "The Law," (it has been frequently said in charges to Grand Juries, and it is a favourite sentiment) "is alike open to the poor and to "the rich;" "and so," (said Mr. Horne Tooke on some occasion) "is the *London Tavern*; but they will give you a very "sorry welcome, unless you come with money sufficient to "pay for your entertainment."

I have no scruple to say, from dear-bought experience, that *there is no law in this country for the poor man.* The expence of attorneys, and the expence of counsel, and the expence of witnesses, and the expence of Stamps to the Government, and fees to the Law Officers, the expence of time, and of trouble, the neglect of business, and the anxiety of mind, are beyond calculation to those who have not had melancholy experience of the fact. Neither is there certainty of justice even to those who are able and willing to afford the expence of a prosecution, if the minds of Jurors can be warped on the day of trial from all impartial considerations, by incessant falsehood and invective, from pulpits and printing-houses, and parish associations. I have a right to complain of the expence of law, when I can inform the reader, with truth,

that the expences of the Trial, to which this is a Sequel, including the proſecution of Dunn,* amounted to nearly *Three Thouſand Pounds.*

I have a right to complain of the uncertainty of juſtice, after the trial of Benjamin Booth at Mancheſter; after having peruſed the trials of Mr. Winterbotham; after having ſeen the verdicts of a Warwickſhire jury, and compared the compenſations, with the loſſes of the Birmingham ſufferers.

I know not in what tone of voice, nor with what caſt of countenance, Mr. Windham pronounced that "*the law was equally open in all caſes:*" but it was a cruel and malignant ſarcaſm: and Mr. Windham could not but know that it was untrue when he uttered it. The law is indeed open to thoſe who have the key of the treaſury to unlock it—it was open even to Thomas Dunn of infamous notoriety—

* Dunn was tried at the auutmn aſſizes 1794, upon an indictment containing no leſs than ten ſeveral perjuries, which he had ſworn, upon the trial againſt Mr. Walker and others.

To prove the falſehood of the facts ſworn to by Dunn, various witneſſes were called; and firſt, as to his reading and writing. The Rev. Mr. Griffith, (the Magiſtrate before whom Dunn's informations were taken, and who upon them iſſued warrants againſt Mr. Walker, Mr. Paul, Mr. Jackſon, and ſeveral others, for high treaſon) ſwore, that he had atteſted informations ſigned by Dunn in his preſence, and that he had no doubt of his being able to read and write. This was confirmed by Mr. Griffith's clerk, Mr. Paynter, who had ſeen Dunn write his name, and had alſo ſeen letters which he believed to have been written by him.—Two other witneſſes depoſed to the ſame effect.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Ridgeway, two gentlemen of great worth and reſpectability, ſtated that they ſaw Dunn at the houſe of Mr. Walker's brother, on the 18th of March; that Dunn fell upon his knees, and begged Mr. Walker's pardon; ſaid, that he had injured his character; that *he had accuſed him falſely*, and that he had been *bribed* to do what he had done; and that when Mr. Walker refuſed to be alone with him, Dunn threatened Mr. Walker, and ſaid, that it ſhould be worſe for him. Several other witneſſes were called, who proved the other facts in the indictment.

The Jury found Dunn guilty; and the ſentence of Mr. Juſtice Rooke was, that he ſhould ſtand once in the Pillory, and be impriſoned for two years in Lancaſter Caſtle.

Perhaps it would be open alſo to Mr. Windham—from the tender mercies of whoſe recommendation in this inſtance, heaven defend the injured poor!

" *The indignation excited againſt Mr. Walker, was much more* " *fairly imputable to his political opinions, than to his being a* " *diſſenter.*" This indignation (it muſt be remembered) broke out into acts of violence and outrage: into attempts upon my property and my life. And this is *fair*, I ſuppoſe, according to Mr. Windham, againſt a man who thinks for himſelf upon the ſubject of public abuſes, and who cannot in conſcience ſubſcribe to Mr. Windham's political creed. Such is the mode of argument recommended by this logical reaſoner. Which, it muſt be confeſſed, is of a piece with his recommendation on the ſubject of the French war: a war to be purſued according to him and Mr. Burke *uſque ad internecionem*, to extermination—till revenge ſhall be ſatiated with ſlaughter, and till there be no victims to ſlay—and till Jacobinical arguments ſhall be unanſwerably confuted by the complete deſtruction of every man whom they are pleaſed to call by the name of Jacobin: an æra which we may ſafely ſay, will never arrive. I ſincerely wiſh, however, that this may perpetually remain the characteriſtic diſtinction between the enemies, and the friends to freedom.—May the former appeal to force, and the latter to argument!

" *It was natural and even juſtifiable for men, to feel indig-* " *nation againſt thoſe who promulgated doctrines, threatening all* " *that was valuable and dear in ſociety*;" Mr. Windham did not ſtate, becauſe Mr. Windham could not ſtate, what doctrines I have ever promulgated of this deſcription. I think I may venture to ſay that I have never propagated any doctrines but the doctrines of peace and good will toward men: I have never ventured like Mr. Windham, " threatening all that was valuable and dear in ſociety," to juſtify acts of violence againſt my neighbour—becauſe he differed from me in political *opinion*. Mr. Windham, like his friend

Mr.

Mr. Burke, deals in aſſertion. Proofs are not his fort: if he has them I challenge him to produce them; and I now ſay to Mr. Windham, *it is falſe*, that I ever promulgated doctrines threatening all that is valuable and dear in Society.

"*And if there were not means of redreſs by law, even vio-*
"*lence would be juſtifiable.*" One would have thought it more becoming a Legiſlator to have ſaid, if there are not means of redreſs by law, in God's name, let us haſten to enact the law, which ſhall give redreſs. Not ſo this Member of the Britiſh Senate, this Law-maker of the Nation—who ſtanding up in his place and character as a Legiſlator, unbluſhingly recommends a ſyſtem of force and violence, rather than propoſe the means of peaceable reparation. Surely, if there be any doctrine which "threatens all that is valuable and dear in Society," it is the juſtification of a recurrence to forcible inſtead of peaceable means of redreſſing ſuppoſed injuries: This is even worſe than at once deſtroying all the bonds of Society, and turning mankind looſe again into a ſtate of ſavage nature, for ſavages, never puniſh mere differences of opinion; they confine their revenge to real not to fancied injuries.

"*But we had laws, therefore violence ought to be puniſh-*
ed;" If there be laws, againſt the crimes of which Mr. Windham inſinuates I am guilty, Why did he not move for my puniſhment?—And if violence ought to be puniſhed, Why did he defend the rioters who uſed it?

"*And on this ground he defended the Aſſociations, as tending*
"*to prevent violence by giving vigour to the Law.*" Mr. Windham ſhould have recollected that the cry of the rioters, and the cry of the Aſſociators is one and the ſame: Church and King, and Down with the Jacobins, is equally in vogue amongſt theſe worthy coadjutors. Exhilarated by the muſic of theſe vociferations, Mr. Windham's reſpectable Clients

proceeded to attack the perſons and deſtroy the property of peaceable citizens, and thus do they tend to prevent violence and give vigour to Law!

I have taken for granted the accuracy of this ſpeech of Mr. Windham, as reported in the Parliamentary Regiſter: becauſe that book is notoriouſly a compilation of authority, and the account appears with Mr. Windham's name at length to it. When Mr. Windham ſhall diſavow the text, I ſhall diſavow the comment on this ſpecimen of the right honourable Gentleman's logical acuteneſs and legiſlative humanity.

Upon the 20th of December, 1792, the Mancheſter Conſtitutional, Patriotic, and Reformation Societies, publiſhed the following addreſs on Mr. Fox's ſpeech therein mentioned.

"MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL, REFORMATION, *and* PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES.

"The Mancheſter, Conſtitutional, Reformation, and Patriotic ſocieties have read with much ſatisfaction the reports in the public papers of Mr. Fox's ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, on the 13th inſtant, on the ſubject of the addreſs.

"They congratulate the people of Great Britain, that the diſtinguiſhed talents of this very able man have been thus honourably employed—in refutation of the calumnies which the enemies of liberty have moſt induſtriouſly propagated—in vindication of the public right of political diſcuſſion—in ſupporting the manifeſt expediency of a redreſs of grievances—and above all, the abſolute neceſſity of "that one thing needful" to our political ſalvation, a parliamentary REFORM.—To this ſingle point are the efforts of the Mancheſter ſocieties directed; nor do they wiſh to overturn any part of the Britiſh conſtitution, but the preſent inadequate and corrupt ſyſtem of parliamentary repreſentation;

tion: when the will of the people ſhall be fairly expreſſed in the Houſe of Commons of Great Britain, by means of repreſentatives equally elected, and under the *due* controul of the electors—when no doubt can reaſonably remain but that a vote of the Houſe of Commons ſhall be the voice of the nation—then, and not till then, will the Mancheſter ſocieties be ſatisfied—then, and not till then, will they relax their efforts in this public cauſe.

"They have obſerved with infinite ſatisfaction the numerous *aſſociations* of the penſioned friends of government, againſt republicans and levellers no where to be found—againſt *ſeditious* writings and meetings, and correſpondencies which theſe enemies of freedom either cannot, or dare not point out—againſt the advocates for equalizing property, of whom theſe ſocieties have never heard, whoſe propoſitions they have never ſeen, whoſe publications, if exiſting, they have never peruſed. For the equalization of *rights* amongſt members of the ſame community, they are advocates; to the equalization of property (were it even poſſible) they are decided enemies. Knowing by hard-earned experience the difficulty of obtaining property by the ſweat of their brow, under the burthen of the numerous taxes which oppreſs them, they can have no inducement to become the advocates of a meaſure, ſo inconſiſtent with the firſt object of Society.

"But to theſe Ariſtocratic Aſſociations, the Mancheſter Conſtitutional, Reformation, and Patriotic ſocieties, feel themſelves infinitely indebted. At a time when timid ſurmiſes, and legal doubts, and courtly obſtacles were thrown in the way of ſocieties convened for the purpoſe of political enquiry and conſtitutional diſcuſſion, theſe friendly aſſociates have publickly met for the very purpoſes hitherto complained of: they have voluntarily obtruded themſelves in the gap of danger: they have brought with them the privilege of law, and the countenance of Government: and having

having taken under their own protection *one ſide* of a Political queſtion, they have fairly ſanctioned their antagoniſt ſocieties, in the free diſcuſſion and public defence of the other.

"The Mancheſter Societies do therefore exhort their fellow citizens to meet peaceably, but firmly, on every convenient opportunity, for the purpoſe of inveſtigating the principles, the advantages, the defects, and the abuſes of the Conſtitution under which they live; that public ignorance and ancient prejudice may no longer ſtand in the way of ſalutary reformation; and that every friend to the rights of the people may be fully inſtructed upon thoſe queſtions, which may hereafter require his ſuffrage and ſupport.

"The Mancheſter, Patriotic, Reformation, and Conſtitutional Societies, are further deſirous of expreſſing their approbation of the Addreſs to the public, from the Society of the Friends of the People, met at Freemaſon's Tavern, the 15th inſtant; that Addreſs the Mancheſter Societies have read with great pleaſure, and hope the Friends of the People will never ceaſe their endeavours in the cauſe of freedom, till a full, complete, and adequate reform be adopted, in the repreſentation of the Commons of Great Britain.

"The Mancheſter Societies at this period of public agitation cannot cloſe this addreſs, without ſubmitting to the public ſome brief obſervations on the ſubject of an impending war between Great Britain, and France.

"They wiſh their fellow-citizens to conſider, what claſs of them (courtiers and contractors excepted) can poſſibly be benefited by ſuch a meaſure? Whether their debt will be diminiſhed, their taxes leſſened, credit ſupported, or commerce extended, by war? Whether the ridiculous pretext of the opening the Scheldt be the true motive, and whether

whether the trade and manufactures of Great Britain will not be moſt evidently benefited, if the port of Antwerp be reſtored to its priſtine ſtate? In theſe queſtions the trader and the manufacturer are much more deeply intereſted than the ſtateſman; and the traders and manufacturers of whom the Mancheſter Societies are compoſed, cannot feel any impropriety in addreſſing theſe queries to their fellow-citizens. And as ſincere friends to the genuine principles of freedom, they ſcruple not to avow their anxiety, that this country may not be induced by any courtly machinations whatever, to join the band of continental deſpots, now leagued againſt the liberties of mankind.

"Signed, by order, and on behalf of, the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society,

"GEORGE WAKEFIELD, Preſident,
"SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary.

"Signed, by order, and on behalf of, the Mancheſter Reformation Society,

"JOSEPH COOPER, Preſident,
"JOHN CHEETHAM, Secretary.

"Signed, by order, and on behalf of, the Mancheſter Patriotic Society,

"THOMAS CARPENTER, Preſident,
"GEORGE Mc. CALLUM, Secretary.

"*Mancheſter, Dec. 20th*, 1792."

I recollect no public act of the Societies ſubſequent to the above date: the Reformation Society being prevented from meeting at William Gorſe's, whoſe houſe was nearly deſtroyed by the mob, this Society as well as the Conſtitutional and Patriotic Societies met at my houſe and warehouſe till about the beginning of June, 1793. At which time commenced the proceedings againſt the Members of theſe Societies, of which the trial before publiſhed contains an account. I proceed,

there-

therefore, now to lay before the public ſome documents to ſhew, why I have termed the proceedings "*a conſpiracy*" on the part of the proſecutors.

The paper ſigned Sydney, with the word WAR as the title, had ſo ſtruck many of the people of Mancheſter, that (as is ſaid) ſeveral of them joined to print a new edition of it, adding a kind of introductory advertiſement. In June 1793 a member of the Patriotic or Reformation Societies, Benjamin Booth, was taken up by warrant from the Rev. Mr. Juſtice Griffith, jun. for diſtributing this paper. The outline of his treatment I have already given in the Appendix to the Trial, No. 19; the detail of which, from compunction of conſcience, he voluntarily ſent to me: it is in his own words, as follows:

"*Mancheſter, June* 20, 1793.

"SIR,

"I am happy to inform you, that I was yeſterday liberated, until the ſeſſions, by the bail of Mr. Allen Jackſon and Mr. Roberts; the crime, for which I have been impriſoned, is curſing the King, of which I am ſure I am innocent; but, How ſhall innocence itſelf eſcape, when a man is permitted, in a ſtate of very great intoxication, to ſwear whatever he pleaſes, or whatever he may be inſtructed? As this was actually the caſe with Dunn, when he ſwore againſt you, Mr. Jackſon, Mr. Paul, myſelf, and many others. I can prove this from the witneſs of the taſk-maſter of the New Bailey, Dunn's own wife, and one Peter Ogden, a private of the third regiment of dragoons.

"The crime alledged againſt you, is, for curſing the King, training men to the military exerciſe, for the avowed purpoſe of aſſiſting the French, and to dethrone the King. Every effort has been uſed to make me join evidence with Dunn; I was told all the friends of freedom in Mancheſter were arreſted. Mr. Griffith promiſed every thing that lay in his power; and Mr. Joſeph Hardman, ſaid, ſo far as

the town of Mancheſter could ſupport me it ſhould; he ſpoke this as a repreſentative of the town. Parker has been employed five or ſix days, for the direct purpoſe of ſeparately intimidating and encouraging myſelf and my wife: every gentleman, that could be thought on, came to forward me by their ſupport, Mr. Brandt, Mr. Crompton, and ſome of the officers of the Yorkſhire militia: at the ſame time that the counſel who came from London on purpoſe to examine Dunn's evidence, threatened, I ſhould be tried.

"Being put to what ſhift I could make to ſave myſelf, I enquired of Dunn, What evidence *he had given*, and though falſe as I know it is, I ſaid the ſame, three very young children and a wife's diſtreſſes being continually held up to my view. However, comfort yourſelf and *forgive me*; I was a priſoner when I ſaid this. If it be poſſible, they will get one Oliver Pearſall to join Dunn's evidence. I have this day drawn out minutes of their treatment towards me, which when you ſee or hear, you will admire, *condemn*, and, I hope, pity me. I am at the houſe of a friend, but ſhall be removed.

"BENJAMIN BOOTH.

"*Mr. Thomas Walker, Bate's Hotel, Adelphi, London.*"

MINUTES OF BENJAMIN BOOTH.

"June 5. Wedneſday. Half paſt ſeven, evening. I was arreſted on oath of John Taylor, by Mr. Unite, for a paper intitled, WAR, with the preface, and brought to Mr. Paynter's office, where Mr. Griffith, jun, was waiting for me. As ſoon as I ſaw him I thought he was intoxicated. He ſaid he was ſorry to ſee me; I had got among a very bad ſet; and it would be much better if I would give them up; he wanted to know who was the author or printer. I replied, I knew nothing about it. He ſaid he was ſurpriſed that I ſhould wiſh to excite diſcontent in the public mind; my brother was as loyal, and as well reſpected as any man in the town; and before this time I bore an excellent character; all the time

ſpeaking in an encouraging ſtile for me to come into his meaſures; but finding I was not at all inclined ſo to do, he bid me remark he had made me no promiſes; he then ſaid he ſhould demand reſpectable bail for 50l. each. I ſent to my brother, who was out: Mr. McCallum ſtepped up to bail me for one, he being preſent. Mr. Griffith immediately raiſed it to 150l. each, and replied, Now let Mr. Walker and Mr. Cooper bail you: you know them, I ſuppoſe: I replied, I did, but I did not care for them any more than for any other gentleman that I knew.

"I was then conducted by Mr. Unite through the moſt public ſtreets in our way to the New Bailey, though I deſired to the contrary ſeveral times. He kept diſcourſing to the crowd, that it was ſuch people as me who had occaſioned the war, and he would expoſe me, wiſhing at the ſame time we were all hanged: this was his continual language. Now and then the rabble ſhouted. We arrived at length at the New Bailey, where I ſtaid all night. A charge was given to the turnkey, that no one ſhould ſee me, unleſs Mr. Unite was preſent. About half paſt ſix the next day Mr. Unite took me to Mr. Griffith's, my wife following me.

"When I arrived there, I ſtaid in the lobby; the parlour door was opened, that a number of gentlemen, Mr. Hulme, ſen. Mr. Hulme, jun. Mr. Withnall, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Griffith, ſen. and ſome others, might look at me. Mr. Hulme, jun. came out, and took me to a corner of the lobby; ſaid, he was ſorry to ſee me, as we had, he believed, been ſchool-fellows; ſaid, I was of a reſpectable family, all of whom he knew very well; begged I would not ſtand in my own light; begged I would not hurt myſelf for Mr. Walker, whom he curſed, and ſaid I was worth fifty Mr. Walkers; Mr. Walker had been the deſtruction of Mr. Matthew Falkner, Mr. Birch, and would be of many others. I replied, I thought Mr. Walker a very worthy and reſpectable gentleman. He then left me. Mr. Griffith, jun,

jun. then aſked me, if I had bail ready: I ſaid I could procure it ſoon. I ſent out my wife; and in about ten minutes Mr. Cheetham, hatter, of Salford, came for one. My father-in-law, Griffith, refuſed; Cheetham ſent for a friend of his. Cheetham went out; and Paynter ſaid, by his (Cheetham's) looks, he was of the ſame kidney; and he thought any perſon who entertained the ſame principles ſhould not be allowed to be bail for me: I ſaid, I thought he was competent to the ſum.

"Griffith ſaid he ſhould not take my word; and any perſon who would be bail with me, muſt give twenty-four hours notice to Mr. Unite; and then it was as he pleaſed whether he would grant bail before the Wedneſday following, which was next court day. The gentlemen all ſaid, then, that the crowd which was gathered would pull me to-pieces: I ſaid I did not fear them. Mr. Hulme, jun. as I was going down the ſteps, ſhouted out, "Expoſe him to the fury of the populace." I turned my head, and ſaid, "thank you, Sir." I was then conducted by Mr. Unite down Hydes Croſs, Hanging-Ditch, Old Mill-Gate, through Market-Place, St. Ann's-Square, Toll-Lane, up Dean's-Gate, and down Dolefield; Mr. Unite diſcourſing in the ſame manner he had done the preceding evening, and the boys ſhouting. We arrived at length at the New Bailey. My commitment being made, I was conducted to the Governor, and it being about eight o'clock, I was locked up in my cell, and went to bed.

"June 7. This day I worked at pulling candlewick, thinking it uſeleſs to reſiſt, I did it chearfully. About nine in the morning my attorney, Mr. Dennett, came to ſee me, took what circumſtances he could down; ſaid he would try for bail for me on the morrow.

"June 8. About half paſt nine, Mr. Dennett ſaw me; told me he would procure bail for me this day, if he could; ſaid

the people who had been aſked would be bail for me in any thing elſe; but in this caſe they were afraid of hurting themſelves by being my bondſmen.

" June 9. At locking up, the Governor ſaid, he had received a charge, that in the morning I ſhould be locked up two hours longer than the reſt, be ſeparately confined during the time I was allowed to ſtay up, and be put to bed two hours before the reſt. This plan was purſued ſome time.

" June 10. Monday. I was ſeparately confined all day.

" June 11. Tueſday. I was ſeparately confined all day. My attorney came about ten o'clock: I wanted to ſpeak in private with him, but was not ſuffered. The Governor ſhewed him the charge he had received; I ſaw it myſelf; it was ſigned " John Griffith."

" June 12. Wedneſday. I was confined ſeparately this forenoon. About one o'clock I was called into court, and liberated by the bail of Mr. Eadon and Mr. M'Callum for 150l. each, and myſelf in 300l. As ſoon as I got home with my friends, we were informed by Dunn's wife, that her huſband was called up at four o'clock in the morning, and made to drink, by two Iriſhmen, (one, O'Callagan, a penſioner,) who having got Dunn ſufficiently intoxicated, ſeized him along with Mr. Parker and Mr. Shepley, who were waiting for the purpoſe at the White Hart, Bank-top; from thence they conducted him to Paynter's, where he drank a bottle of ſherry, and kept ſaying, he would tell them more, if they would give him more to drink. He was at Griffith's the ſame day, I believe, where he drank a bottle of ſhrub: (both Griffith and Paynter told me, after, of this very liquor.) Shepley ſaid, Dunn repeatedly ſaid I was innocent; but he knew, and if they would give him more liquor, he would tell them more.

" About

"About eleven o'clock this ſame evening, I was again arreſted at my own door, charged upon the oath of Dunn with curſing the King, and wiſhing it was in my power, I would guillotine him; which was ever far from my thoughts; likewiſe with lending him (Dunn) the Addreſs to the Addreſſers. This pamphlet Dunn took from my houſe on Sunday, June 2d, without permiſſion, but in my ſight. I was took by Mr. Parker, who had many attendants, from whom I afterwards learnt I was picked out of many that Dunn had accuſed, and Griffith ordered my warrant to be ſerved this night. We went down to the New Bailey, where I ſtaid in the Star Chamber all night.

"June 13. Thurſday. About eight o'clock this morning the taſk-maſter came into the Star-chamber, and ſaid, "What! are you here again? I anſwered, yes. He ſaid, what are you come for now? I anſwered, for a moſt falſe and ſcandalous lie, upon the oath of a drunken man. He ſaid, What! the man who came laſt night? I ſaid, his name is Dunn; and he anſwered, yes; he ſaid, why he was drunk when he came here! I ſaid, are you ſure? He anſwered, yes, I will take my oath of it. This was all in the preſence of Peter Ogden, a private in the third regiment of dragoons, now lying in Mancheſter, who was in the Star Chamber for taking a recruit to another regiment. I ſhould here mention, the taſk-maſter ſaid, that Griffith gave orders that Dunn ſhould lie in a good bed, have whatever he pleaſed, and go wherever he chuſed within the gates, and be treated with all the civility he could be.

"I this afternoon ſaw my wife, who told me Mr. Richard Walker ſaid I ſhould be bailed in the morning. About ſix o'clock, Mr. Dennett came, ſaid, I muſt make myſelf eaſy for a few days, as Mr. Griffith refuſed to bail me, until Wedneſday next. My wife likewiſe told me Mr. Thomas Walker was ſent after to London, Mr. Jackſon was run away, and many others had done the ſame; and there were

warrants

warrants againſt McCallum, Smith, Cheetham, Mitchell, Paul, Barrett, and as many as were known to be members of any of the Societies.

" My heart was very low: about ten o'clock, Mr. Parker came into the Star-chamber, related, that my brother was almoſt fretted to death upon my account. As he (my brother) and himſelf (Parker) had heard Mr. Griffith ſay he would refuſe to take bail for me upon any account. He ſaid, if I would ſtep forward and declare all I knew of the buſineſs he would be bound himſelf, nay, he would even bring Mr. Joſeph Hardman to give me his bond, that the whole town of Mancheſter would ſupport me. My wife and family ſhould be well provided for by the town, myſelf reſpected and ſupported in every thing I wiſhed to undertake, and himſelf and my brother would, if I owed any thing, pay it for me. He told me, Mr. Griffith was waiting for me: I then followed him into the Turnkey's apartment, where was Mr. Griffith, Mr. Joſeph Hardman, Mr. Paynter, and ſeveral others. Mr. Griffith then aſked me if I had any bail. I anſwered, I thought I ſhould have in the morning, but it was very late. He ſaid " Oh! well then," and immediately ſigned my commitment. Mr. Joſeph Hardman then ſaid, he hoped, I ſhould conſider the ſituation I was in; he was ſorry to ſee me in it; ſaid, if I would ſtep forward, and declare what I knew, he would ſupport me as far as he was able for my families ſake. Mr. Griffith ſaid, he would do the ſame moſt willingly, but my confeſſion muſt be free, and I ſhould not conſider what Mr. Joſeph Hardman and he had ſaid as any promiſes. I told him, I had ſupported what I thought was right, and it ſhould be conviction only ſhould make me change ſides. I would hear what any one had to ſay upon the ſubject, and I would conſult with my wife and other relations. It was granted, that my wife ſhould ſee me the next day, as alſo my brother; he then gave the Taſk-maſter orders to treat me civilly.

Friday.

" Friday, June 14. This forenoon I was ſeparately confined. At noon the Governor let me have the liberty to walk in the front of his office: Parker had been with me alone in the forenoon: he ſaid, Cheetham, Mitchell, and M'Caſland, were joined in evidence with Dunn, and I had but a few hours to determine whether I would ſuffer myſelf, or ſave from infamy and deſtruction my three children, my wife and myſelf, and leave thoſe, whoſe property would defend them, to take care of themſelves. Mr. Hill adviſed me to do the ſame. The Taſk-maſter, likewiſe my brother, Mr. Withnall, who is an attorney, declared that the crime of which Walker and Paul were accuſed, was High Treaſon, and, therefore, every one preſent, where High Treaſon was, were all principals, there could be no acceſſaries: begged I would ſave myſelf, and ſaid all the town would reſpect and ſupport me.—I then ſaw my wife, and wrote a letter to Mr. Griffith, ſignifying if indemnification would be granted, I would come forward as evidence, ſupport the King and Conſtitution, and our moſt excellent form of Government, and do my utmoſt to bring to juſtice any one who ſhould either openly or ſecretly oppoſe the ſame.—This letter was took by the Taſk-maſter, who returned, that no indemnification could be granted, " but if I was to be hanged, he (Griffith) would be hanged for me," ſtruck his breaſt, and ſaid poor man! poor man! being ſeemingly convinced that my conſcience accuſed me of having done wrong before time. This was the report which the Taſkmaſter gave me.

" About nine o'clock Mr. Griffith, Mr. Joſeph Hardman, Parker, and Mr. Paynter came; as we were in the Taſk-maſter's parlour ſome wine was brought in two decanters; we drank the King and Conſtitution; Griffith aſked me very many queſtions about a bit of paper, which Mr. Walker had in his hand, tore it, and ſaid, " I would as ſoon guillotine him as tear this bit of paper." This I poſitively denied ever having heard or ſeen: he replied, No, no, Dunn gives a very full evidence.—Mr. Joſeph Hard-

man

man bid me recollect, if I could not remember a tranſaction of that kind. I anſwered I never remembered any ſuch a circumſtance. Many other queſtions againſt Paul and Walker were put to me. Mr. Griffith ſaid he wanted the great men; he wanted "to pick his birds."—Hardman ſeeing the perplexity of my mind deſired Griffith to go home: both Griffith and Paynter ſeemed to be intoxicated: Griffith ſaid I had ſaid nothing at all; I knew more, and he would not be trifled with: (though I ſaid more than what was true) they then departed, and left me to a night of the greateſt anguiſh of mind I ever had experienced.

"Saturday, June 15th.—After a ſleepleſs night, I rambled, having permiſſion, round the gardens, till about ten o'clock; when Parker came, who told me my brother and Hallows ſet off the evening before to Liverpool, when no doubt they would take McCallum and Smith. Mr. Richard Walker, he ſaid, ſet out about twelve o'clock at night to London; Mr. Thomas Walker was in cuſtody in London: it would be a very nice matter to get myſelf admitted evidence, he repreſented; as Mr. Griffith was in no wiſe ſatisfied with what I ſaid: he was convinced I ſcreened Walker, and he expected my evidence to be as full as Dunn's, as Dunn ſaid, I knew more than he did: he then ſaid how much intereſted Mr. Joſeph Hardman, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Withnall, himſelf, and very many gentlemen were in my favour, now they ſaw I ſhould prove myſelf a loyal and honeſt man to my King and Country; told me, to recollect every circumſtance I could before the evening, when Mr. Griffiths and others would come down, and if my account pleaſed, my pardon ſhould be wrote for.—This day I had permiſſion to ſee my wife; (but he had talked to her before, as I underſtood afterwards) whom, however, I muſt not ſpeak to, unleſs he was preſent, and no whiſpering was allowed; about eleven o'clock a perſon who I underſtood was Counſellor Hay, or ſome name like it, came: he heard what Dunn ſaid, then what I ſaid; ſaid Dunn and me ſhould not be allowed to communicate our depoſitions

ſitions to each other: but this counſel was not followed. Griffith and another gentleman was preſent.—Counſellor Hay looked at the papers, books, and pamphlets; wanted to know how many conſtituted the meeting, and how many men in Walker's employ were there the firſt night: not being certain, we conjectured fifteen members; he ſaid very little: as ſoon as he was gone, Parker and my wife came, to whom as before I muſt ſay nothing in private. Parker went up with my wife, to ſee what was in McCallum's trunks.

"About half paſt nine Griffith and Paynter came: (Parker and my wife came before) I told them, I was very eager to ſupport them. I had deſired Parker to ſtop McCallum's trunks, and, if any body directed them, he and Smith might be found by that means. Deſired them to ſend to Sheffield, and ſearch Gales's ſhop, and I was ſure they might have ſomething againſt him, and alſo to attack Mr. William Camage, who I ſaid was Secretary to the Conſtitutional Society, and if he, his books, &c. could but be got, they would open a vaſt field of information to them.

"My pardon was ſent for this night; I did not read the letter, but Griffith told me it was for it, and I ſaw him ſign it. Seeing me ſo zealous in their cauſe, I was ordered to board with the Taſk-maſter, to have a moderate allowance of drink, but not to make Dunn jealous.—This was Mr. Griffith's order, who related when Dunn was at his houſe, he drunk a whole bottle of ſhrub except one glaſs. Paynter ſaid, he had drunk the *ſame day* a bottle of ſherry at his houſe, and the Taſk-maſter remarked "it was no wonder he was ſo very drunk that night then." Griffith replied, laughing, "But I believe he had drank all day and began very early." Paynter ſaid, Yes. Griffith ſaid, I had not come up to Dunn's evidence: I muſt think on ſomething more; it was of no uſe what I had ſaid. After a deal of common diſcourſe, they went away about twelve o'clock, and I immediately went to bed.

" Sunday, June 16. I walked round the gardens almoſt all forenoon: about four o'clock, Mr. Joſeph Hardman, Mr. Brandt, and many others came; Hardman told them, I would now be an honeſt man.—Brandt ſaid I had ſerved him; I was an honeſt ſervant, but too ſtiff. I ſaid I was ſtiff enough at ſometimes: he ſaid it might be eaſily looked over when a man was honeſt; he had no other fault to find with me; Hardman ſaid I ſhould gain a deal of reſpect by acting the part I did. They then went away.

" Parker then came (ſaid my wife and ſiſter, whom he had ſeen would viſit me this evening, but as it was very wet, I did not ſee them this day.) He ſtaid tea and we all drank it together, Parker, Dunn, myſelf, and the Taſk-maſter, and family: he departed ſoon after, and I went to bed ſoon: his (Parker's) diſcourſe was the old over again.

" Monday, June 17.—Parker was with me by ten o'clock, ſaid, Mr. Griffith was convinced I ſcreened Walker; he told me, I was doing myſelf an injury by ſo doing: they did not want to take Walker's life; but ſomething which would ſubject him to fine and impriſonment; as they knew it was him and others like him, who had led the ignorant aſtray, and they did not wiſh to hurt any poor man: he bid me remember what I could to criminate Walker, and repeated again they did not want to touch his life; he reminded me of the advantages I ſhould reap, and of the dangerous ſituation I ſhould leave myſelf in, if I could not declare what would be thought ſufficient to form an evidence for the crown.

" Tueſday, June 18.—This morning, very ſoon, Parker came down: he particularly deſired me to be ſerious: told me I ſhould ſee a perſon, who I had never ſeen before; ſaid upon the account I gave my life depended.—The Taſk-maſter came to me; and ſaid, if I did not declare to the full extent of my knowledge I moſt certainly ſhould be hanged, as

my pardon was denied, and a perſon was come down, ſent for the purpoſe by Government, to examine Dunn's evidence, and hear what I had to ſay.

"I now applied to Dunn to know what evidence he had given; who ſaid that he had declared that the Societies were formed for the purpoſe of learning the manual exerciſe, to aſſiſt the French to erect a form of Government on a freſh foundation, and to aboliſh Kingly power. He had ſwore againſt Walker, that he had ſaid he would as ſoon guillotine the King, as tear that bit of paper; this he ſaid Walker had in his hand, when he made the expreſſion, and had been diſcourſing on the effects of war to this country; ſaid, that he had ſwore likewiſe, that at Walker's, men learned the manual exerciſe, to aſſiſt the Freſich, ſhould they land: and that from ſeven to twenty every meeting, at leaſt, up to the ſix weeks laſt paſt, did learn it for that very purpoſe: and that Oliver Pearſall was the firſt, who did learn it them; and if I would not join his evidence, Oliver Pearſall muſt be ſent for. Againſt Paul, he ſwore, that when the addreſs from the united Iriſhmen addreſſed to the people of Scotland was read, he (Paul) did ſay how much he paid for an eſtate there, and ſaid it was to ſupport the Lord Lieutenant, who was King, and had 3000l. per annum, that he curs'd the King and all Kings, and ſaid, if Scotland would join Ireland, it would take the ſoldiers, and if the French landed he would aſſiſt them. Againſt Mr. Jackſon, George McCallum, Smith, Barrett, and myſelf, he ſwore, that we curſed the King, and wiſhed to guillotine him.

"Here the perſon ſpoke of, appeared with Griffith; he examined Dunn. Whilſt he was doing ſo, the Taſk-maſter, who I believe did it out of charity to me, exhorted me, "for God's ſake, and my family, to join Dunn's evidence," as did alſo Parker, who went into the parlour again. When Dunn's examination was finiſhed, I was called up; the perſon ſaid he would tell me his opinion; which was, he thought I ſhould be tried, but if I choſe to ſay any thing, he would take it down; but it

would neither do me good nor harm.——I then ſaid I would let him know what I had to ſay upon the buſineſs.——Here he wrote down what I ſaid, which if it never appears I hope my friends will excuſe my relating, and if it ever does, I declare it was the extorted efforts of a poor man to ſave himſelf and family, as I thought then, from ſhame and miſery; encouraged thereto by the promiſes of perſons, whom even then I held in abhorrence, but thought I had no refuge elſe; I accidentally ſaw Mr. Paul, who aſſured me I ſhould be ſupported. I almoſt bleſſed my impriſonment, and I am convinced, it was the Almighty's doing, that I might acquaint my friends of what they were accuſed; and by having alone ſtuck to truth, in the minutes I have penned, I hope the counſel for myſelf and friends will be able to defeat theſe vile machinations.

"Wedneſday, June 19.—This day about noon I was liberated until the Seſſions by the bail of Mr. Allen Jackſon and Mr. Roberts. But ſo anxious are thoſe agents of the devil who would wiſh for the gratification of their revenge even at the expence of perjuring the accuſers, and taking away the life of the innocent, that I am informed, conſtables ſtopt every bridge to take me for ſome new crime of which I know nothing.

"BENJAMIN BOOTH."

"*Manchester, June* 21, 1793."

The detail of the treatment of Oliver Pearſall has already been given in the Appendix to the Trial No. 18. * I have only to add, that the Deputy Conſtable therein mentioned, who informed Pearſall of one perſon who had received twelve guineas for his teſtimony, and was gone home again, was Kinnaſton, the joint witneſs with Dunn upon the trial.

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* It would be unneceſſary to enlarge, in this publication, on any circumſtances, or particulars, that have already been related in the TRIAL, or in the APPENDIX to it.

And

And that Callaghan therein mentioned has declared, that he had been applied to, to join Dunn's evidence, which he would have done, had it gone only to fine and a little impriſonment; but that when he found there was meant to be blood in the caſe, he would have nothing to do with it.

Some time about this period was ſold in the ſtreets of Manchester the following hand-bill, in which the reader will remark the *merciful* intention of the concluding paragraph:—

"*Some* PARTICULARS *relating to a* NEW DISCOVERY, *which contains an* ACCOUNT *of the* ACCOMPLICES *of* TOM PAINE'S JOURNEYMEN, *who were taken by Warrant, and committed to Priſon on Friday laſt.*

"The great number of bills that have been circulated in Manchester, ſince the apprehending of Tom Paine's Journeymen, has given riſe to a ſuſpicion, that a Conſtitutional Society of this town muſt have had ſome concern in it, therefore it was thought neceſſary (in order to preſerve peace, and in future prevent ſuch proceedings,) to inveſtigate the ſociety; in which were found ſome books and papers, which were immediately ſeized, and yeſterday ſeveral of the members were taken into cuſtody, and committed to priſon.

"The charges to be brought forward againſt them, are, it is believed, of a very ſerious nature.—The affair has cauſed much converſation in the town, and no ſmall buſtle with thoſe concerned in it, as meaſures are purſuing that will bring the buſineſs to a ſpeedy concluſion, and, it is expected, to the ſatisfaction of the public at large.

"From this circumſtance, there is reaſon to ſuſpect that the COOPER (who was lately in ſuch full buſineſs) will now be out of employ; alſo the black cat be driven from the family; and the two famous WALKERS (who are alſo related

related to the above) be ſhortly overtaken; *and ſhould either of theſe pedeſtrians meet with an antagoniſt whoſe abilities are ſuperior, ſo as to hurry them from this ſtage of life, no expence will be ſpared to have them interred in a manner ſuitable to their character, as a* PAUL *is already got, and a room is to be upholſtered with black paper.*"

Benjamin Booth being indicted and tried at the Mancheſter Seſſions in July, 1793, was convicted on the ſole teſtimony of Thomas Dunn, of damning the King. His teſtimony was directly contradicted by Booth's ſiſter. As the examinations of Dunn and of this woman contain ſome curious facts I here preſent them to the reader.

THOMAS DUNN,

Croſs-examined by MR. LLOYD.

Q. What are you?

A. A weaver.

Q. Where did you come from? What part of Ireland?

A. From Athlone in the county of Weſtmeath.

Q. How long have you been in Mancheſter?

A. About three years.

Q. What was your buſineſs in Ireland?

A. A weaver.

Q. Did you leave a wife in Ireland?

A. She came after me a few weeks.

Q. Did you leave one wife in Ireland?

A. She followed me ſome time after.

Q. Was

Q. Was you ever employed by the Eaſt India Company?

A. No.

Q. Was you ever employed as a crimp?

A. No.

Q. Not to pick up ſoldiers?

A. No.

Q. I believe you are not a Proteſtant?

A. No—yes—I was a Roman Catholic.

Q. Was you excommunicated from the Roman Catholic church?

A. No, I defy any perſon to prove it.

Q. How long have you been acquainted with Booth?

A. Seven or eight months particularly.

Q. Who were preſent at his houſe with McCallum and Smith? Were his wife and ſiſter in the room?

A. Yes.

Q. You went there at ſix o'clock?

A. Yes.

Q. You ſent for Burton ale?

A. Yes.

Q. This Burton ale is very ſtrong. You drank freely of it?

A. Yes.

Q. You never have been baptiz'd?*

A. No.

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* Vide the Trial, to which this is a Sequel, page 16. where Dunn ſwore that this queſtion had never been aſked him.

Q. You

Q. You joined in wiſhing the French ſucceſs?

A. Yes—and am ſorry for it.

Q. You were no friend to Kings, then?

A. No, but have changed my principles.

Q. How long have you lived in the New Bailey?

A. Six weeks.

Q. You ſurely was not accuſed of any crime: Did you ſtay in priſon by your own conſent?

A. No. I was taken up for circulating a ſeditious paper on War, an Addreſs to Manchester, ſigned Sydney.

Q. At that time you loved a little ſedition?

A. Yes.

Q. I am told you were not very ſhy at that time in ſpeaking. Did you bring theſe principles from Ireland?

A. No.

Q. You don't recollect how much you had drank from ſix to twelve o'clock?

A. No.

Q. You fix the preciſe time the words were ſpoken, about ten o'clock, and ſtaid drinking till twelve?

A. Yes.

Q. Was the previous converſation about the Faſt day?

A. I don't recollect, I drank Thomas Paine's health: we diſapproved of the Faſt day.

Q. What was you charged with, when you was taken up?

A. With circulating the war paper, and was taken before the magiſtrate.

Q. And

Q. And you immediately gave information—did you drink ſome ſhrub and wine?

A. I did not drink ſhrub and wine, but ſome good porter; it was the next day I drank ſhrub.

Q. Did you ſend for the porter yourſelf?

A. No.

Q. Did you drink the porter before you turned evidence?

A. Before and after I turned evidence—I had it from the man who took me up.

Q. Had you a good deal of porter?

A. Pretty well of it.

Q. How long after you were taken up, did you turn evidence?

A. Immediately on my being taken up I turned evidence, I had reſolved to do it a month before I was detected.

Q. Was you drunk when you fully reſolved to turn informer?

A. No. After I turned informer, I got pretty forward in liquor; at moſt times I am fond of liquor.

Q. You was then brought here?

A. Yes.

Q. And have been confined ever ſince?

A. Yes, ſeven weeks next Wedneſday.

Q. Has there been any promiſe made you that you ſhould be releaſed, if Booth is convicted?

A. No.

Q. Have you been confined in the cells?

A. I have been three or four times in the council chamber.

Q. Was you ſet to watch the bridge?

A. At the time Mr. Paul was here, to ſee who came to ſee him, and who would not.

Q. Then you had the cuſtody of Mr. Paul?

A. No.

Q. Though you ſay you had no promiſe, don't you expect to be let out if Booth is convicted?

A. No.

Q. When was you diſcharged?

A. Mr. Griffith there (pointing to the bench) deſired me to ſtop, and ſaid I was no priſoner.

Q. Do you know M^c^Callum's dog?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you get any thing by that trick?

[*Here Mr. Lloyd was interrupted by the Counſel for the Proſecution.*]

Q. Did you drink wine at Mr. Paynter's?

A. I don't recollect any thing of it.

MARY BOOTH,

Croſs-examined by MR. TOPPING.

Q. Was "God ſave the King" ſung that night, or what were the ſongs?

A. I don't recollect.

Q.

Q. When did you mention any thing of theſe tranſactions?

A. Laſt Thurſday.

Q. Where was it you told Mr. Dennett theſe words?

A. I went to Mr. Dennett, becauſe Dunn had ſaid theſe words on the Faſt day, and I had heard Dunn had ſworn them againſt my brother, and Mr. Parker told me Dunn had ſworn the contrary—that was contrary to the truth.

Q. When?

A. On Saturday afternoon, Parker came to my houſe the Saturday afternoon, the ſecond time after my brother was taken up, and told me, Dunn had ſworn againſt my brother, and that it would go very hard with him, and deſired I would ſtrain my memory to aſſiſt my brother, for to ſay ſomething againſt Mr. Walker, that would either hang him, or drive him the country, and ſaid, that was all they wanted, and he was ſent up from the juſtices at the New-Bailey.

Q. Who was preſent when this converſation took place?

A. Mr. Parker and myſelf.

JOHN PARKER.

Examined by Mr. Justice Bayley.

Q. When was *Benjamin Booth* apprehended?

A. On Wedneſday the 12th of June.

Q. What did you do, or where was you on the Saturday afterwards?

A. A few days after I went to Booth's ſiſter, to deſire her, if ſhe knew any thing reſpecting the buſineſs of *Benjamin Booth*, to relate it.

Q. Did you mention any thing reſpecting *Mr. Walker?*

A. Something was ſaid, but I don't recollect what.

Q. Did you deſire her to recollect—telling this woman to ſtrain her memory?

A. No.

Q. Did you tell her, that you was ordered by the magiſtrates to ſay any thing to her?

A. No.

Q. Did you ſay that her teſtimony might have an effect to drive Mr. *Walker* out of the country?

A. No.

Mr. *Thomas Butterworth Bayley*, the chairman of the Mancheſter Seſſions, gave ſtrength to *Parker's* evidence in his own favour, by declaring, after *Parker* had been examined, that he knew him very well, and that he *(Parker)* was as reſpectable a man as any in *Mancheſter*; which declaration I underſtand had great weight with the Jury. A gentleman who was preſent whilſt *Booth* was tried, and who had a very indifferent opinion of *Parker*, aſked Mr. *Bayley, during the ſitting of the court*, what knowledge he had of *Parker*; Mr. *Bayley* replied, *he knew nothing of him, but from often ſeeing him in that court, and that he appeared to be an active ſpecial conſtable.**

The Rev. Mr. Griffith, junior, told a perſon, through whom it comes to me, that Dunn was a long time before he would ſay any thing, but that, he (Griffith) out with a decanter of ſtrong Hollands gin, or ſhrub, and made the dog drunk, and then he began to open: that he ſhewed him (Dunn) his

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* Soon after *Parker* gave this evidence, he became inſolvent; and under circumſtances which were very far from juſtifying the character ſo *publicly* given him by Mr. Juſtice *Bayley*.

examination

examination when he came to himſelf, and that he had always ſtood to it ſince. The ſame perſon has alſo heard the reverend magiſtrate declare that he would not leave Walker a pair of ſhoes—he would ruin him. In conformity to this, Griffith, junior, has alſo declared in the preſence of other perſons, his readineſs to ſtab Walker, and that he would hang him if poſſible. His treatment of Dunn is farther corroborated by the following declaration.—

William Robinſon, Taſk-maſter, at the New Bailey priſon, ſays, when Thomas Dunn was placed under his care by the Reverend John Griffith, his orders were to humour and indulge him in any thing he had a mind to drink: he, therefore, let him have wine, rum, Hollands, beer, porter, &c. his orders were alſo that he ſhould dine at the Taſk-maſter's table, have a good bed, &c. and Dunn's wife frequently lay with her huſband in the ſaid priſon; ſays, Dunn frequently got drunk, and at that time always wanted more liquor than he thought proper to give him: Dunn would then be exceedingly abuſive, and frequently got liquor from the Turnkey. Dunn boarded with the Taſk-maſter from the 13th of June to the 6th of Auguſt, 1793, nearly the whole of which time he ſays, Dunn conſidered himſelf a priſoner; ſays, Dunn borrowed of the governor, Mr. Furnival, eleven ſhillings, in the name of John Griffith, but don't know whether the governor has been paid again or not. Robinſon ſays, Dunn wanted him to charge two guineas a week for his board and liquor, and to give him a ſhare of the overplus money; ſays, Dunn did not receive the priſon bread. Griffith gave Robinſon orders to let him have at leaſt four or five pints of beer or porter beſides other liquors per day. Dunn had alſo ten ſhillings in money of Robinſon, which were paid him as part of the ſaid bill for Dunn's board and liquors, alſo for wine, eating and liquor for Parker, Dunn and Booth, and for Dunn's and Booth's wives, amounting in the whole to £. 10. 6s. 6d.

COPY

COPY of the BILL.

" The Rev. Mr. John Griffith, Dr. Mancheſter.
" In account with Wm. Robinſon, Taſk-maſter.

	£.	s.	d.
" To board wages for Thomas Dunn, from June the 13th, to Auguſt 6, 1793	7	16	0
" Ordered for Mr. Parker, Mrs. Booth, &c. to wine	0	5	0
" To porter	0	4	6
" To victuals for Mrs. Booth	0	2	0
" To ditto for Mr. Parker	0	2	0
" To ſmall beer, paper, and candles	0	1	0
" To Benjamin Booth's board four days	0	10	0
" To wine for Booth's, Dunn's, &c. wives	0	2	6
	£. 9	3	0
" On Dunn's account to be added	1	3	6
	£. 10	6	6

" *New Bailey, Aug. 7th,* 1793."

Wm. Robinſon was paid the above account, in a check upon Peel's bank, by Mr. Simpſon, in Brown-ſtreet, " Treaſurer " of an Aſſociation for preſerving Conſtitutional Order and " Liberty, as well as Property, againſt the various efforts " of Levellers and Republicans, entered into at Mancheſter, " the 11th day of Dec. 1792."

Robinſon ſays, when he firſt ſaw Dunn, it was at John Griffith's, and Dunn was then drunk. Griffith told Robinſon, that Dunn had then drank a bottle of ſhrub, or ſherry, but he don't remember which. Dunn told Robinſon, he thought of going to America, and they had diſappointed him, otherwiſe he ſhould not have done any thing of this kind, meaning, ſwearing againſt Walker, Paul, or others: he then ſaid, he wiſhed he was dead: he alſo told Robinſon he was to have had his place as Taſk-maſter at the New Bailey, but for his having to appear

in evidence againſt Walker, Paul, Collier, Jackſon, and others, and that it would look bad if he had it. Robinſon ſays, Dunn hurt his fingers, and deſired his wife to give him a little rum to bathe them; ſhe brought out a bottle nearly full; but Robinſon being called away, Dunn ſtole the rum, and drank it. As ſoon as Mrs. Robinſon miſſed the rum, ſhe went into Dunn's room, and accuſed him with ſtealing the rum, and aſked him, if he was not afraid it would kill him; he anſwered, he wiſhed it would, for he wiſhed he was dead. Dunn was not well for two or three days after. Robinſon ſays, his face ſeemed inflamed and red the next day. As Robinſon was ordered to indulge Dunn in every thing, he had leave to go with him to Blakely Ruſh-burying, or wake. Dunn ordered five ſhillings worth of liquor, and placed the reckoning to John Griffith. Robinſon thinks the landlord's name is Travis, but is not ſure; it was a publick houſe on the left hand ſide. Robinſon enliſted Dunn at that houſe to cauſe others to enliſt; ſays, he enliſted two other men, but Griffith let them off. Robinſon was, and is, a recruiting ſergeant, (that is, he has beating orders,) but at this time, was alſo Taſk-maſter at the New Bailey priſon.

It appears, however, that Dunn had other reſources than his friend the Rev. Juſtice. He applied one time in particular at Mr. Joſeph Hardman's (then one of the chief conſtables of the town, and the perſon ſo frequently mentioned in Booth's narrative) for a little money, and ſaid, he could do with ten guineas for the preſent. Whether he had it or not I do not know, as Mr. Joſeph Hardman was at that time in London.

The activity of this Reverend Magiſtrate ſeems to have obtained him much credit with the High Church Party in Mancheſter, and its neighbourhood: ſome of whom, in teſtimony of their approbation, publiſhed the following advertiſement in Harrop's Mancheſter Mercury of July 9th, 1793.

" *Salford,*

" *Salford, July* 5, 1793.

" At a meeting of the Society for protecting Liberty and " Property from Republicans and Levellers, held at Mr. T. " Hardman's, Crown and Cushion,

" It was unanimously resolved,

" That the thanks of this Society be transmitted to the " Reverend J. Griffith, M. A. one of his majesty's justices " of the peace, for his laudable exertions in bringing to " justice those who in any wise offend against our most ex- " cellent form of Government, and that the following letter " be printed in both the Manchester papers, and signed by " the chairman.

" Sir,

" Truly sensible of the many blessings we enjoy under our " present established form of Government, and likewise " being fully persuaded of the advantages and utility, which " must naturally ensue from the Magistracy being properly " supported.

" As a Society which is founded on true Constitutional " principles—Permit us, Sir, to testify our acknowledge- " ment to you, for your very able, spirited, and laudable " exertions in bringing to light the hidden views of the in- " veterate foes of this country, and by your indefatigable " exertions have almost entirely rooted them out.

" We think it our duty, thus publickly to declare our " sentiments, and acknowledge that through your activity " and justly admired spirit, the factious crew of evil de- " signing men, plotting to subvert our much admired Go- " vernment, and substitute Anarchy and Confusion, have " been entirely frustrated, and their vile and wicked de- " signs brought to light.

" We

" We are ready on all occaſions to ſtep forward and " ſupport the Magiſtracy, and bring to juſtice all thoſe " who wickedly, and maliciouſly, offend againſt our moſt " excellent form of Government."

" JOHN GILLER, Chairman."

During all theſe proceedings, although the Reverend Doctor Griffith, alſo a Magiſtrate, the father of the Juſtice ſo often mentioned, did not take a very public, he certainly did not take a very idle part. He has been heard to declare, that if they (meaning his party) could but get Buller (meaning Judge Buller) down, they ſhould get ſome of them (meaning myſelf and the other defendants) hanged.

The warrants iſſued againſt myſelf and ſome of the other defendants, whoſe Trial I have already publiſhed, being for high treaſon, it is reaſonable to conclude, that the Reverend Magiſtrate, in the common courſe of his duty, * would tranſmit an account of the buſineſs to his Majeſty's Secretary of State.

That he did ſo is preſumable from Mr. Shelton the clerk of the Arraigns † being ſent down to Mancheſter to take depoſitions. Mr. Secretary Dundas, at leaſt, could not be

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* Vide Burn's Juſtice, Article Treaſon.

† Mr. Shelton was, I am informed, at Mr. Nathaniel Milne's, one of the agents for the proſecution againſt myſelf and the other defendants, during his (Mr. Shelton's) ſtay in Mancheſter; and, I underſtand, Mr. Shelton blamed Mr. Griffith very much, and made a report of Dunn's evidence by no means favourable to the further proſecution of the proceedings againſt us. Mr. *Griffith*, indeed, has confeſſed that " they could not convict *Walker* of high treaſon now, becauſe " they had loſt the evidence of *Booth*, who was bailed, and " they had only one witneſs; *but as they had begun, he thought they ſhould* " *go on.*" Mr. N. Milne once obſerved, it was very extraordinary indeed, that, although he had a liſt of ſeveral hundred Democrats, he could not procure another evidence.

ignorant of what was going forward, as appears by my letters to him, and the converſation he had with Mr. Wharton on the ſubject of my application.*

In additional proof of this communication, the Reverend Mr. Griffith has declared, that he is indemnified by Government; and that at one time having only a verbal promiſe he was very uneaſy, but that he had obtained a written indemnification that morning: i. e. the morning he made this declaration.

Immediately previous to the trial at Lancaſter, of which I have given an account, there was a kind of apprehenſion amongſt ſome of the High Church Party, whether well or ill founded I know not, of Dunn's running away from compunction of conſcience, or ſome other reaſon. One of the zealous adherents of the Church and King club, juſt before the trial, diſpatched the following notice from Lancaſter, which was ſtuck up at Mr. Brierley's, the Golden-croſs Tavern in Mancheſter, to cheer the drooping ſpirits of the friends to the good old cauſe.

" Sir,

" I am truly happy to ſay that Dunn is this moment ar-
" rived, and is now in this houſe: let my clerk ſhew this
" poſtſcript at Mr. Harrop's ſhop for the ſatisfaction of the
" friends of the King and Conſtitution."

How the trial terminated, the public already know; but the reader will naturally enquire, by what means the proſecutor Dunn, who was not worth one farthing, ſhould be able to bear the expence of an unſucceſsful proſecution, of which the pecuniary burthen fell ſo heavy on the defendants who were acquitted?

I do not know who paid Meſſrs. Milne and Serjeant, the Mancheſter agents for the proſecution, nor can I yet tell at whoſe

* Vide Appendix to the Trial, p. 107—115.

whoſe command, and at whoſe charge, Mr. Shelton firſt came down from London.

If individuals have taken all this trouble, borne this heavy expence, it is ſingular they ſhould remain unknown; and it is hard, for their ſakes, that conjecture ſhould be buſy in pointing out the perſons, or ſhould balance upon the motives of private hatred, party rancour, and public ſpirit.

If the public have defrayed this expence, if the Officers of Government have it in their power to apply the purſe of the nation to inſtitute ſuits againſt individuals, whoſe oppoſition to public abuſes may render them obnoxious, there is an end of the liberty of ſpeech, the liberty of the preſs, and the liberty of the ſubject. There is no ſtanding againſt the forms and fictions of the law, when put in motion by the purſe of the Treaſury. Of what conſequence is it, whether a man be impriſoned in a jail for life, becauſe he cannot pay a thouſand pounds as the expence of a law-ſuit, or a thouſand pounds as a fine? How many innocent and worthy men are there, whom the defence of the accuſations againſt us * would have compleatly ruined! Gold may be bought too

* The expence and trouble attending the proſecutions in which I have been involved, form a part only of the injuries which I have ſuſtained for venturing to be a friend to the rights of the people. The proofs I have of the inſidious and ſyſtematic, though unſuſpected, attacks upon my character and credit as a merchant, both at home and abroad, by thoſe who expected, and perhaps wiſhed that I ſhould be overwhelmed by the proſecutions againſt me, are numerous. But were I to purſue the offenders by legal means, my whole life would be ſpent in litigation.

There are, indeed, ſome individuals, whoſe generous and decided conduct on the occaſion of this trial has made an impreſſion upon my mind, which will never be eraſed; but the general treatment I have experienced has been ſuch as I have ſtated. On other occaſions, beſides the preſent trial, the courſe of juſtice has been obſtructed, on account of my real or ſuppoſed political principles.

too dear, and ſo may juſtice: I ſhould be glad to obtain it, but I cannot afford it.

Such are the facts, which I have thought it right to ſubmit to the conſideration of the public. The reader will draw his own concluſions from this narrative. My own experience has perfectly convinced me,

1ſt, That of all the corporations (the privileged orders) of this kingdom, the CLERGY are the moſt ſore upon the ſubject of reformation. The political corporations, in general, ſeem to confeſs, that they might poſſibly bear ſome ſlight exciſion by the hand of a dexterous but delicate operator; but the Clergy, cling with the utmoſt pertinacity to the whole and every (even the minuteſt) part of their ſyſtem: it is a "*noli me tangere*;" it will bear no reform: they ſeem decidedly convinced, that it would die under the operation of amendment. I believe the borough of Old Sarum will be much ſooner given up than the Athanaſian Creed.

2dly, The ancient conſervators of the peace were elected by the people. Theſe have been ſuperſeded by Juſtices of the Peace nominated by the influence of the Crown. Next to the Clergy (very many of whom are alſo Juſtices) this ſet of men have been the moſt active againſt political diſcuſſion and reformation, and the moſt prominent and obſequious agents of

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I do not quite underſtand upon what authority letters, ſuch as the following, were *unſolicitedly* ſent by the Under-Sheriff to ſome of the Jurors ſummoned upon our trial for a conſpiracy:

"SIR,

"The Sheriff will excuſe your attendance on the Jury at the next "Aſſizes.

"Your obedient ſervant,

"JOHN PILKINGTON."

"*Preſton, 24th March*, 1794."

miniſterial

miniſterial alarm. The ſeverities of the Turkiſh oppreſſor of millions are little felt by the multitude, in compariſon with thoſe of the petty delegates of ſuperior tyranny, who ſwarm throughout that deſpotic empire. Nor is the weight of tythes and taxes in this country a burthen ſo heavy upon a neighbourhood, as the affected loyalty of a few upſtart, thorough-paced, miniſterial Juſtices of the Peace. When the day of reformation ſhall come, (as come it muſt) it is to be hoped the people will reclaim their ancient privilege of electing theſe magiſtrates themſelves. Too many of them of late days have been recruiting officers for the war, inſtead of Juſtices of the Peace.

3dly, That there is little or no dependance to be placed upon thoſe, who zealouſly mix religious with political queſtions, or who only from ſectarian motives join in political ſocieties. The Diſſenters of this kingdom have been at the commencement of almoſt every ſubject of liberal diſcuſſion of late years. But, however conſiſtently and diſintereſtedly many of them have acted, they have, as a body, conſtantly fallen ſhort of their own principles; they have excited oppoſition, which they have never compleatly ſupported; and through fear, or ſome other motive, they have been ſo ſtrongly the advocates of an overſtrained moderation, that they have rather been the enemies than the friends of thoſe who have ventured the moſt, and effected the moſt for the rights of the people.

4thly, That in all political ſocieties, beſide due caution in the admiſſion of members, all the proceedings ought to be conducted on the ſuppoſition, that they may, at one time or other, or by one mean or other, be made public, commented on, and even perverted, by the adverſaries of the principles they may contain. It is evident, that the habit of expreſſing with accuracy and forethought the ſentiments intended to be conveyed, is of very great importance to the future ſafety, as well as the reputation, of ſuch ſocieties. The want

of

of this, which education contributes ſo eſſentially to ſupply, has been the great ſtumbling block of the ſocieties which have been formed amongſt the poorer claſſes of the people.—They have not wanted integrity, good meaning, or good ſenſe; but they have failed in the phraſeological caution neceſſary in critical times, and to perſons whoſe proceedings would infallibly be attacked by every quibble of legal ingenuity.

5thly, That almoſt all the attacks upon individuals, which the enemies of Liberty have directly or indirectly ventured upon, and which have kept in the back ground ſo many men of good intentions, but whom an exceſs of caution, or a timid kind of prudence has prevented from acting, has been owing to the want of ſteadineſs and concert amongſt the friends of Liberty themſelves.—The timid deſert the bold, till the bold become cautious of ſupporting each other with their preſence, and unable to do ſo with their property.

Neither the Birmingham riots, nor the Mancheſter riots, nor the Nottingham riots, nor the proſecutions, public or private, which have taken place, would have happened, had not the timidity and want of union amongſt the friends of freedom, emboldened their enemies. Temper and moderation are truly valuable; but the profeſſionally temperate and moderate men, have been the firſt deſerters from, and have uniformly done infinite miſchief to, the rights of the people.

6thly, That men who mean to do good, muſt not look for their reward, or the effect of their exertions, during the exiſting generation. Such an effect they may, indeed, live to ſee, but it cannot be counted upon. Thoſe who are not capable of acting upon this hazard, are not the men, upon whom the public can fully depend; or who can purſue a great plan of public utility with ſatisfaction to themſelves.

7thly, That the ſum and ſubſtance of all the hazard which the friends of freedom run, of all the evils which the people ſuffer, and of all the political iniquity, paſt, preſent, and to come, is founded upon, and comprized in, the want of a compleat and univerſal ſyſtem of public education.

Why are the maſs of the people, the poorer claſs, the ſwiniſh multitude, as Mr. Burke contumelioufly terms them, ſo generally adverſe to their friends, and ſo blindly the dupes of their oppreſſors?

Becauſe they are ignorant.

Why do the middling claſs, the more informed amongſt the public, heſitate upon ſelf-evident propoſitions, wherein they are ſo materially intereſted?

Becauſe they are at beſt but half informed—becauſe they have been in the habit of believing that men, who are often more ignorant than themſelves, have the excluſive monopoly of political knowledge.

Why do the efforts of the moſt ardent and enlightened men of the nation, upon political ſubjects, become gradually weak, careleſs, ineffectual, unſucceſsful?

Becauſe they know and feel the difficulty of perſuading men who are ignorant of, and therefore dead to, their own intereſts—they know that the ſeed of knowledge is ſown upon barren ground; they doubt of its growth, they deſpair of ſeeing any effect from their exertions; and they are unwilling to become the victims of thoſe, whom they are labouring to ſerve.

Ignorance—Public Ignorance is the ſole cauſe of Political Evil, and the great Bane of Human Happineſs.

THOMAS WALKER.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS *from* Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG's TRAVELS *in* FRANCE,

During the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789.—p. 532 to 546, &c. Chap. XXII.
First Edition. 1792.

ON THE REVOLUTION OF FRANCE.

"THE groſs infamy which attended *Letters de Cachet*, and "the Baſtile, during the whole reign of Louis XV. made them "eſteemed in England, by people not well informed, as the "moſt prominent features of the Deſpotiſm of France. They "were certainly carried to an exceſs hardly credible; to the "length of being ſold with blanks, to be filled up with "names, at the pleaſure of the purchaſer; who was thus able, "in the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from "the boſom of his family, and bury him in a dungeon, where "he would exiſt forgotten, and die unknown! *—But ſuch "exceſſes

* "An anecdote, which I have from an authority to be depended on, will "explain the profligacy of government in reſpect to theſe arbitrary impriſon-"ments. Lord Albermarle, when Ambaſſador in France, about the year "1753, negotiating the fixing of the limits of the American Colonies, which "three years after produced the war, calling one day on the Miniſter for "Foreign Affairs, was introduced, for a few minutes, into his cabinet, while "he finiſhed a ſhort converſation in the apartment, in which he uſually re-"ceived thoſe who conferred with him. As his Lordſhip walked backwards "and forwards, in a very ſmall room (a French Cabinet is never a large one) "he could not help ſeeing a paper, lying on the table, written in a large "legible hand, and containing a liſt of the priſoners in the Baſtile, in which "the firſt name was Gordon. When the Miniſter entered, Lord Albermarle "apologized for his involuntarily remarking the paper;—the other replied,

" exceſſes could not be common in any country; and they " were reduced almoſt to nothing from the acceſſion of the " preſent King. The great maſs of the people, by which I " mean the lower and middle ranks, could ſuffer very little " from ſuch engines; and as few of them are objects of " jealouſy, had there been nothing elſe to complain of, it is " not probable they would ever have been brought to take " arms. The abuſes attending the levy of taxes were heavy " and univerſal. The kingdom was parcelled into generalities, " with an intendant at the head of each, into whoſe hands the " whole power of the Crown was delegated for every thing, " except the military authority; but particularly for all " affairs of finance. The generalities were ſubdivided into " elections, at the head of which was a *Sub-delegué*, appointed " by the intendant. The rolls of the *Taille*, *Capitation*, " *Vingtiemes*, and other taxes, were diſtributed among diſ- " tricts, pariſhes, and individuals, at the pleaſure of the " intendant, who could exempt, change, add, or diminiſh, at " pleaſure. Such an enormous power conſtantly acting, and " from which no man was free, muſt, in the nature of things, " degenerate, in many caſes, into abſolute tyranny. It muſt " be obvious, that the friends, acquaintances, and dependents " of the intendant, and of all his *Sub-delegués*, and the friends " of theſe friends, to a long chain of dependence, might be

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" that it was not of the leaſt conſequence, for they made no ſecret of the names. " Lord A. then ſaid, that he had ſeen the name of Gordon firſt in the liſt, " and he begged to know, as in all probability the perſon of this name was a " Britiſh ſubject, on what account he had been put into the Baſtile. The " Miniſter told him, that he knew nothing of the matter, but would make " the proper inquiries. The next time he ſaw Lord Albemarle, he informed " him, that, on inquiring into the caſe of Gordon, he could find no perſon " who could give him the leaſt information; on which he had had Gordon " himſelf interrogated, who ſolemnly affirmed, that he had not the ſmalleſt " knowledge, or even ſuſpicion, of the cauſe of his impriſonment, but that " he had been confined 30 years; however, added the Miniſter, I ordered " him to be immediately releaſed, and he is now at large." Such a caſe wants no comment.

" favoured in taxation, at the expence of their miſerable " neighbours; and that Noblemen in favour at Court, to whoſe " protection the intendant himſelf would naturally look up " could find little difficulty in throwing much of the weight " of their taxes on others, without a ſimilar ſupport. In- " ſtances, and even groſs ones, have been reported to me, in " many parts of the kingdom, that made me ſhudder at the " oppreſſion to which numbers muſt have been condemned, " by the undue favours granted to ſuch crooked influence. " But without recurring to ſuch caſes, What muſt have been " the ſtate of the poor people paying heavy taxes, from " which the Nobility and Clergy were exempted? A cruel " aggravation of their miſery, to ſee thoſe who could beſt " afford to pay, exempted becauſe able!—The inrolments " for the militia, which the *Cahiers* call, *an injuſtice without* " *example*, * were another dreadful ſcourge on the peaſantry; " and as married men were exempted from it, occaſioned in " ſome degree that miſchievous population, which brought " beings into the world in order for little elſe than to be " ſtarved. The *corvées*, or police of the roads, were annually " the ruin of many hundreds of Farmers; more than 300 " were reduced to beggary in filling up one vale in Loraine; " all theſe oppreſſions fell on the *tiers etat* only; the Nobility " and Clergy having been equally exempted from *tailles*, " militia, and *corvées*. The penal code of finance makes one " ſhudder at the horrors of puniſhment inadequate to the " crime. † A few features will ſufficiently characterize the " old government of France:

" 1. Smugglers of ſalt, armed and aſſembled to the number " of five, in Provence, *a fine of* 500 liv. and *nine years gallies*; " —in all the reſt of the kingdom, *Death*.

" 2. Smugglers

* " *Nob. Briey*, p. 6. &c. &c."

† " It is calculated by a writer (*Recherches et Conſid. par M. le Baron de* " *Cormeré*, tom. 2. p. 187.) very well informed on every ſubject of finance, " that, upon an average, there were annually taken up, and ſent to priſon, or

" 2. Smugglers armed, assembled, but in number under " five, *a fine of* 300 liv. and *three years gallies.* Second offence, " *Death.*

" 3. Smugglers, without arms, but with horses, carts, or " boats, *a fine of* 300 liv. *if not paid, three years gallies.* Second " offence, 400 liv. *and nine years gallies.*—In Dauphiné, second " offence, *gallies for life.* In Provence, *five years gallies.*

" 4. Smugglers, who carry the salt on their backs, and with- " out arms, *a fine of* 200 liv. and, *if not paid, are flogged and* " *branded.* Second offence, *a fine of* 300 liv. *and six years* " *gallies.*

" 5. Women, married and single, smugglers, first offence, " *a fine of* 100 liv. Second, 300 liv. Third, *flogged, and* " *banished the kingdom for life. Husbands responsible both in fine* " *and body.*

" 6. Children, smugglers, the same as women.—*Fathers and* " *mothers responsible; and, for defect of payment, flogged.*

" 7. Nobles, if smugglers, *deprived of their Nobility; and* " *their houses razed to the ground.*

" the gallies, Men 2340. Women 896. Children 201. Total 3437.— " 300 of these to the gallies, (tom. 1. p. 112.) The salt confiscated from " these miserables amounted to 12,633 quintals, which, at the mean price of " 8 liv. are, - - - - - - 101,064 liv.

" 2772 lb. of salted flesh, at 10 s. -	1,386
" 1086 horses, at 50 liv. - -	54,300
" 52 carts, at 150 liv. - -	7,800
" Fines, - - - - - -	53,207
" Seized in houses, - - -	105,530
	323,287"

" 8. Any

" 8. Any perſons in employments (I ſuppoſe employed in " the ſalt works or the revenue,) if ſmugglers, *Death*. And " ſuch as aſſiſt in the theft of ſalt in the tranſport, *hanged*.

" 9. Soldiers ſmuggling, with arms, are *hanged*; without " arms, *gallies for life*.

" 10. Buying ſmuggled ſalt to re-ſell it, *the ſame puniſhments* " *as for ſmuggling*.

" 11. Perſons in the ſalt employments, *empowered if two,* " *or one with two witneſſes, to enter and examine houſes even of* " *the privileged orders*."

" 12. All families and perſons liable to the *taille*, in the " provinces of the *Grandes Gabelles* inrolled, and their con- " ſumption of ſalt for the *Pot and Salierie* (that is the daily " conſumption, excluſive of ſalting meat, &c. &c.) eſtimated " at ſeven pounds a head per annum, which quantity they are " forced to buy whether they want it or not, under the pain " of various fines according to the caſe.

" The *Capitaineries* were a dreadful ſcourge on all the " occupiers of land. By this term is to be underſtood the " paramountſhip of certain diſtricts, granted by the King, to " Princes of the blood, by which they were put in poſſeſſion " of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to " them; and what is very ſingular, on manors granted long " before to individuals; ſo that the erecting of a diſtrict into " a *Capitainarie*, was an alienation of all manerial rights to " game within it. This was a trifling buſineſs, in compariſon " of other circumſtances; for in ſpeaking of the preſervation " of the game in theſe *Capitaineries*, it muſt be obſerved that " by game muſt be underſtood whole droves of wild Boars, " and herds of deer not confined by any wall or pale, but " wandering, at pleaſure, over the whole country, to the de- " ſtruction of crops; and to the peopling of the gallies by the

" wretched

" wretched peaſants, who preſumed to kill them, in order to " ſave that food which was to ſupport their helpleſs children. " The game in the *Capitainerie* of Montceau, in four pariſhes " only, did miſchief to the amount of 184,263. liv. per " annum.* No wonder then that we ſhould find the people " aſking, " *Nous demandons à grand cris la deſtruction des Capi-* " *tainaries & celle de toute ſorte de gibier.*"† And what are " we to think of demanding, as a favour, the permiſ- " ſion—" *De nettoyer ſes grains de faucher les prés artifi-* " *ciels, et d'enlever ſes chaumes ſans égard pour la perdrix* " *ou tout autre gibier.*" ‡ Now, an Engliſh reader will " ſcarcely underſtand it without being told, that there were " numerous edicts for preſerving the game which prohibited " weeding and hoeing, leſt the young partridges ſhould be " diſturbed; ſteeping ſeed, leſt it ſhould injure the game; " manuring with night ſoil, leſt the flavour of the partridges " ſhould be injured by feeding on the corn ſo produced; " mowing hay, &c. before a certain time, ſo late as to ſpoil " many crops; and taking away the ſtubble, which would " deprive the birds of ſhelter. The tyranny exerciſed in " theſe *Capitaineries*, which extended over 400 leagues of " country was ſo great that many *Cahiers* demanded the utter " ſuppreſſion of them.§ Such were the exertions of arbitrary " power, which the lower orders felt directly from the royal " authority; but, heavy as they were, it is a queſtion whe- " ther the others, ſuffered circuitouſly through the nobility " and the clergy, were not yet more oppreſſive? Nothing

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* " *Cahier du tiers etat. de Meaux*, p. 49.

† " ——————— *de Mantes & Meulan*, p. 38.

‡ " *Ibid*, p. 40.—Alſo *Nob. & tiers etat. de Peronne*, p. 42. *De trois ordres* " *de Montfort*, p. 28.

§ " *Clergé de Provins & Montereau*, p. 35.—*Clergé de Paris*, p. 25.—*Clergé* " *de Mentes & Meulan*, p. 45, 46.—*Clergé de Laon*, p. 11.—*Nob. de Nemours*, " p. 17.—*Nob. de Paris*, p. 22.—*Nob. de Arras*, p. 29.

" can

" can exceed the complaints made in the *Cahiers* under this " head. They ſpeak of the diſpenſation of juſtice in the " Manerial Courts, as comprizing every ſpecies of Deſpo- " tiſm: the diſtricts indeterminate—appeals endleſs—irrecon- " cileable to Liberty and Proſperity——and irrevocably " proſcribed in the opinion of the public *—augmenting " litigations—favouring every ſpecies of chicane—ruining " the parties—not only by enormous expences on the moſt " petty objects, but by a dreadful loſs of time. The judges " commonly ignorant pretenders, who hold their courts in " *Cabarets*, and are abſolutely dependent on the Seigneurs. † " Nothing can exceed the force of expreſſion uſed in paint- " ing the oppreſſions of the Seigneurs, in conſequence of " their feudal powers. They are " *Vexations qui ſont le plus* " *grand fléau des peuples.* ‡—*Eſclavage affligeant.* §—*Ce regime* " *deſaſtreuſe.* ‖—That the *feodalité* be for ever aboliſhed. " The countryman is tyrannically enſlaved by it. Fixed " and heavy rents; vexatious proceſſes to ſecure them; ap- " preciated unjuſtly to augment them: rents, *Solidaires*, and " *Revenchables*; rents, *cheantes*, and *levantes*; *fumages*. Fines " at every change of the property, in the direct as well as " collateral line; feudal redemption *(retraite;)* fines on ſale, " to the 8th and even the 6th penny; redemptions *(rachats)* " injurious in their origin, and ſtill more ſo in their exten- " ſion: banalité of the mill, ¶ of the oven, and of the wine

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* " *Rennes*, art. 12.

† " *Nevernois*, art. 43.

‡ " *Tier etat. de Vannes*, p. 24.

§ " *T. Etat. Clermont Ferrand*, p. 52.

‖ " *T. Etat. Auxerre*, art. 6.

¶ " By this horrible law, the people are bound to grind their corn at the " mill of the Seigneur only; to preſs their grapes at his preſs only; and " to bake their bread in his oven; by which means the bread is often ſpoil- " ed, and more eſpecially wine, ſince in Champagne thoſe grapes which, " preſſed immediately, would make white wine, will, by waiting for the " preſs, which often happens, make red wine only.

" and

" and cyder-preſs; *Corvées* by cuſtom; *Corvées* by uſage of " the fief; *Corvées* eſtabliſhed by unjuſt decrees; *Corvées* ar- " bitrary, and even phantaſtical; ſervitudes; *preſtations*, ex- " travagant and burthenſome; collections by aſſeſſments " incollectible; *aveux*, *minus*, *impuniſſemens*; litigations ruin- " ous and without end: the rod of Seigneural finance for " ever ſhaken over our heads; vexation, ruin, outrage, " violence, and deſtructive ſervitude, under which the pea- " ſants, almoſt on a level with poliſh ſlaves, can never but " be miſerable, vile, and oppreſſed.* They demand alſo, " that the uſe of hand-mills be free; and hope that poſterity, " if poſſible, may be ignorant that feudal tyranny in Bre- " tagne, armed with the judicial power, has not bluſhed, " even in theſe times, at breaking hand-mills, and at ſelling " annually to the miſerable, the faculty of bruiſing between " two ſtones a meaſure of buck-wheat or barley.‡ The very " terms of theſe complaints are unknown in England, and " conſequently untranſlatable: they have probably ariſen " long ſince the feudal ſyſtem ceaſed in this kingdom. " What are theſe tortures of the peaſantry in Bretagne, " which they call *Chevanchés*, *quintaines*, *ſoule*, *ſaut de poiſon*, " *baiſer de marrieés*; *chanſons*; *tranſporte d'œuf ſur un charette*; " *ſilence des grenouilles*; § *Corvée a miſericorde*; *milods*; *leide*; " *couponage*; *Cartelage*; *barage*; *fouage*; *marechauſſée*; *ban vin*; " *ban d'aout*; *trouſſes*; *gelinage*; *civerage*; *taillabilité*; *vingtain*; " *ſterlage*; *bordelage*; *minage*; *ban de vendanges*, *droit d'accapte*.¶ " In paſſing through many of the French provinces, I was " ſtruck with the various and heavy complaints of the farm-

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* " *Tiers etat. Rennes*, p. 159.

‡ " *Rennes*, p. 57.

§ " This is a curious article: when the lady of the Seigneur lies in, " the people are obliged to *beat the waters* in marſhy diſtricts, to keep " the frogs ſilent, that ſhe may not be diſturbed; this duty, a very op- " preſſive one, is commuted into a pecuniary fine.

¶ " *Reſumé des Cahiers*, tom. iii. p. 316, 317.

" ers

" ers and little proprietors, of the feudal grievances with
" the weight of which their induſtry was burthened; but
" I could not then conceive the multiplicity of the ſhackles
" which kept them poor and depreſſed. I underſtood it
" better afterwards, from the converſation and complaints
" of ſome grand Seigneurs, as the Revolution advanced;
" and I then learned, that the principal rental of many
" eſtates conſiſted in ſervices and feudal tenures; by the
" baneful influence of which the induſtry of the people
" was almoſt exterminated. In regard to the oppreſſions
" of the clergy, as to tythes, I muſt do that body a juſ-
" tice, to which a claim cannot be laid in England.
" Though the eccleſiaſtical tenth was levied in France
" more ſeverely than uſual in Italy, yet was it never ex-
" acted with ſuch horrid greedineſs as is at preſent the
" diſgrace of England. When taken in kind, no ſuch
" thing was known in any part of France, where I made
" enquiries, as a tenth: it was always a twelfth, or a
" thirteenth, or even a twentieth of the produce. And in
" no part of the kingdom did a new article of culture
" pay any thing: thus turnips, cabbages, clover, chico-
" reé, potatoes, &c. &c. paid nothing. In many parts,
" meadows were exempted. Silk worms nothing. Olives
" in ſome places paid—in more they did not. Cows no-
" thing. Lambs from the 12th to the 21ſt. Wool nothing.
" Such mildneſs in the levy of this odious tax, is abſo-
" lutely unknown in England. But mild as it was, the
" burthen to people groaning under ſo many other oppreſ-
" ſions, united to render their ſituation ſo bad, that no
" change could be for the worſe. But theſe were not all
" the evils with which the people ſtruggled. The admi-
" niſtration of juſtice was partial, venal, infamous. I have
" in converſation with many very ſenſible men, in different
" parts of the kingdom, met with ſomething of content
" with their Government in all other reſpects than this; but
" upon the queſtion of expecting juſtice to be really and
" fairly adminiſtered, every one confeſſed there was no ſuch

 " thing

" thing to be looked for. The conduct of the parliaments
" was profligate and atrocious. Upon almoſt every cauſe
" that came before them, intereſt was openly made with the
" judges; and woe betided the man, who, with a cauſe to
" ſupport, had no means of conciliating favour, either by
" the beauty of a handſome wife, or by other methods. It
" has been ſaid by many writers, that property was as ſecure
" under the old Government of France, as it is in England;
" and the aſſertion might poſſibly be true, as far as any
" violence from the King, his miniſters, or the great was con-
" cerned: but for all that maſs of property, which comes in
" every country to be litigated in courts of juſtice, there
" was not even the ſhadow of ſecurity, unleſs the parties
" were totally and equally unknown, and totally and equally
" honeſt; in every other caſe, he who had the beſt intereſt
" with the judges, was ſure to be the winner. To reflecting
" minds, the cruelty and abominable practice attending ſuch
" courts are ſufficiently apparent. There was alſo a cir-
" cumſtance in the conſtitution of theſe parliaments, but
" little known in England, and which, under ſuch a govern-
" ment as that of France, muſt be conſidered as very ſingular.
" They had the power, and were in the conſtant practice of
" iſſuing decrees, without the conſent of the crown, and
" which had the force of laws through the whole of their
" juriſdiction; and of all other laws, theſe were ſure to be the
" beſt obeyed; for as all infringements of them were brought
" before Sovereign courts, compoſed of the ſame perſons
" who had enacted theſe laws (a horrible ſyſtem of tyranny!)
" they were certain of being puniſhed with the laſt ſeverity.
" It muſt appear ſtrange, in a Government ſo deſpotic in
" ſome reſpects as that of France, to ſee the parliaments in
" every part of the kingdom making laws without the
" King's conſent, and even in defiance of his authority.
" The Engliſh, whom I met in France in 1789, were ſur-
" prized to ſee ſome of theſe bodies iſſuing arrets againſt the
" export of corn out of the provinces ſubject to their juriſ-
" diction, into the neighbouring provinces, at the ſame time

" that the King, through the organ of ſo popular a miniſter
" as Mons. Necker, was decreeing an abſolutely free tranſ-
" port of corn throughout the kingdom, and even at the
" requiſition of the National Aſſembly itſelf. But this was
" nothing new; it was their common practice. The parlia-
" ment of Rouen paſſed an arret againſt killing of calves; it
" was a prepoſterous one, and oppoſed by adminiſtration;
" but it had its full force; and had a butcher dared to offend
" againſt it, he would have found by the rigour of his pu-
" niſhment, who was his maſter. Inoculation was favoured
" by the court in Louis XV's time; but the parliament of
" Paris paſſed an arret againſt it, much more effective in
" prohibiting, than the favour of the court in encouraging
" that practice. Inſtances are innumerable, and I may
" remark, that the bigotry, ignorance, falſe principles,
" and tyranny of theſe bodies were generally conſpicuous;
" and that the court (taxation excepted,) never had a
" diſpute with a parliament, but the parliament was ſure
" to be wrong. Their conſtitution, in reſpect to the ad-
" miniſtration of juſtice, was ſo truly rotten, that the
" members ſat as judges even in cauſes of private pro-
" perty, in which they were themſelves the parties, and have,
" in this capacity, been guilty of oppreſſions and cruelties,
" which the crown has rarely dared to attempt.

" It is impoſſible to juſtify the exceſſes of the people on
" their taking up arms; they were certainly guilty of cruel-
" ties; it is idle to deny the facts, for they have been proved
" too clearly to admit of a doubt: *but is it really the people*
" *to whom we are to impute the whole? or to their oppreſſors,*
" *who had kept them ſo long in a ſtate of bondage?* He who
" chuſes to be ſerved by ſlaves, and by ill-treated ſlaves, muſt
" know that he holds both his property and life by a tenure
" far different from thoſe who prefer the ſervice of well-treated
" freemen; and he who dines to the muſic of groaning ſuf-
" ferers, muſt not, in the moment of inſurrection, complain that
" his daughters are raviſhed, and then deſtroyed; and that his

" ſons throats are cut. When ſuch evils happen, they ſurely " are more imputable to the tyranny of the maſter, than to the " cruelty of the ſervant. The analogy holds with the French " peaſants:—the murder of a Seigneur, or a chateau in flames, " is recorded in every news-paper: the rank of the perſon who " ſuffers, attracts notice; but where do we find the regiſter of " that Seigneur's oppreſſions of his peaſantry, and his exactions " of feudal ſervices from thoſe whoſe children were dying around " them for want of bread? Where do we find the minutes that " aſſigned theſe ſtarving wretches to ſome vile pettifogger, to " be fleeced by impoſitions, and a mockery of juſtice, in the " Seigneural Courts? Who gives us the awards of the Intend- " ant and his *ſub-delegués*, which took off the taxes of a man of " faſhion, and laid them with accumulated weight on the poor, " who were ſo unfortunate as to be his neighbours? Who has " dwelt ſufficiently upon explaining all the ramifications of deſ- " potiſm, regal, ariſtocratical, and eccleſiaſtical, pervading the " whole maſs of the people; reaching, like a circulating fluid, " the moſt diſtant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedneſs? " In theſe caſes, the ſufferers are too ignoble to be known, and " the maſs too indiſcriminate to be pitied. But ſhould a philo- " ſopher feel and reaſon thus? Should he miſtake the cauſe for " the effect? and, giving all his pity to the few, feel no com- " paſſion for the many, becauſe they ſuffer in his eyes, not in- " dividually, but by millions? The exceſſes of the people can- " not, I repeat, be juſtified; it would undoubtedly have done " them credit, both as men and chriſtians, if they had poſſeſſed " their new acquired power with moderation. But let it be re- " membered, that the populace in no country ever uſe power with " moderation; exceſs is inherent in their aggregate conſtitu- " tion: and as every government in the world knows, that vio- " lence infallibly attends power in ſuch hands, it is doubly " bound in common ſenſe, and for common ſafety, ſo to conduct " itſelf, that the people may not find an intereſt in public confu- " ſions. They will always ſuffer much, and long, before they " are effectually rouſed; nothing, therefore, can kindle the " flames but ſuch oppreſſions of ſome claſſes or order in the

" Society,

" Society, as give able men the opportunity of ſeconding the " general maſs: diſcontent will ſoon diffuſe itſelf around; and " if the Government take not warning in time, it is *alone* an- " ſwerable for all the burnings, and plunderings, and devaſta- " tion, and blood that follow. The true judgement to be " formed of the French revolution, muſt ſurely be gained, from " an attentive conſideration of the evils of the old Govern- " ment: when theſe are well underſtood, and when the ex- " tent and univerſality of the oppreſſion under which the " people groaned—oppreſſion which bore upon them from " every quarter, it will ſcarcely be attempted to be urged, " that a revolution was not abſolutely neceſſary to the wel- " fare of the kingdom. Not one oppoſing voice * can with " reaſon be raiſed againſt this aſſertion: abuſes ought cer- " tainly to be corrected, and corrected effectually: this could " not be done without the eſtabliſhment of a new form of " government; whether the form that has been adopted " were the beſt, is another queſtion abſolutely diſtinct. But " that the abovementioned detail of enormities practiſed on

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* " Many oppoſing voices have been raiſed; but ſo little to their credit, " that I leave the paſſage as it was written long ago. The abuſes that are " rooted in all the old Governments of Europe, give ſuch numbers of men a " direct intereſt in ſupporting, cheriſhing, and defending abuſes, that no " wonder advocates for tyranny, of every ſpecies, are found in every coun- " try, and almoſt in every company. What a maſs of people in every part " of England are ſome way or other intereſted in the preſent repreſentation of " the people, tythes, charters, corporations, monopolies and taxation! and " not merely to the things themſelves, but to all the abuſes attending them; " and how many are there who derive their profit, or their conſideration in life, " not merely from ſuch inſtitutions, but from the evils they engender! The " great maſs of the people, however, is free from ſuch influence, and will be " enlightened by degrees; aſſuredly they will find out, in every country of " Europe, that by combinations, on the principles of liberty and property, " aimed equally againſt regal, ariſtocratical, and mobbiſh tyranny, they will " be able to reſiſt ſucceſsfully that variety of combination, which, on " principles of plunder and deſpotiſm, is every where at work to enſlave " them."

" the

" the people required ſome great change, is ſufficiently ap-
" parent; and I cannot better conclude ſuch a liſt of de-
" teſtable oppreſſions, than in the words of the *Tiers Etat* of
" Nivernois, who hailed the approaching day of liberty with
" an eloquence worthy of the ſubject.

" Les plaintes du peuple ſe ſont long-temps perdues dans
" l'eſpace immenſe qui le ſépare du Trône: cette claſſe la
" plus nombreuſe et la plus intéreſſante de la ſocieté;
" cette claſſe qui mérite les premiers ſoins du gouvernement,
" puiſq' elle alimente toutes les autres; cette claſſe à la-
" quelle on doit et les arts neceſſaires a la vie, et ceux
" qui en embelliſſent les cours; cette claſſe enfin qui en
" recueillent moins a toujours payé davantage, peut-elle
" apres tant de ſiècles d'oppreſſion et de miſère compter
" aujourdhui ſur un ſort plus heureux? Ce ſeroit pour
" ainſi dire blaſphémer l'autorité tutélaire ſous laquelle nous
" vivons que d'én douter un ſeul moment. Un reſpect
" aveugle pour les abus établis ou par la violence, ou
" par la ſuperſtition, une ignorance profonde des condi-
" tions du pacte ſocial voila ce qui a perpétué juſq' à
" nous la ſervitude dans laquelle ont gemi nos pères. Un
" jour plus pure eſt près d'eclorre: le roi a manifeſté le
" deſir de trouver des ſujets capables de lui dire la vérité;
" une de ſes loix, l'edit de création des Aſſemblées provin-
" ciales du moi de Juin 1787, annonce que le vœu le plus
" preſſant de ſon cœur ſera toujours celui qui tendra au
" ſoulagement et au bonheur de ſes peuples: un autre loi
" qui a retenti du centre du royaume à ſes dernières ex-
" tremités nous a promis la reſtitution de touts nos droits,
" dont nous n'avions perdus & dont nous ne pouvions
" perdre que l'exerciſe puiſque le fond de ces mêmes droits
" eſt inaliénable et impreſcriptible. Oſons donc ſecouer le
" joug des anciennes erreurs: oſons dire tout ce qui eſt
" vrai, tout ce qui eſt utile; oſons réclaimer les droits eſſen-
" tiels et primitifs de l'homme: la raiſon, l'equité, l'opinion
" générale,

" générale, la bien faiſance connue de notre auguſte ſouverain, " tout concour à aſſurer les ſuccès de nos doléances. "

" Having ſeen the propriety, or rather the neceſſity, of " ſome change in the Government, let us next briefly in- " quire into the effects of the Revolution on the principal " intereſts in the kingdom.

" In reſpect to all the honours, power and profit derived " to the nobility from the feudal ſyſtem, which was of an

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TRANSLATION OF THE DECLARATION OF THE *TIERS ETAT* OF NIVERNOIS.

" The complaints of the people have long been loſt in the immenſe ſpace " which ſeparates them from the throne: this claſs the moſt numerous and " the moſt intereſting to ſociety; this claſs, which merits the firſt care of " government, ſince it ſupports all the others; this claſs to which they are " indebted for the articles neceſſary to life, as well as thoſe which embelliſh " courts; this claſs, in ſhort, which having reaped the leaſt, has always paid " the moſt. May it it after ſo many ages of oppreſſion and miſery reckon to " day on a more happy lot? It would be, in ſo many words, to blaſpheme " the guardian power under which we live, to doubt it only for a moment. A " blind reſpect for abuſes, eſtabliſhed either by violence, or by ſuperſtition; " a profound ignorance of the conditions of the ſocial compact, are the cir- " cumſtances which have perpetuated to the preſent moment, the ſervitude " in which our fathers groaned. A purer day is about to open on us: the " King has expreſſed a deſire of finding ſubjects capable of telling him the " truth; one of his laws,—the edict for the creation of the Provincial Aſ- " ſemblies, of the month of June 1787, announces that the wiſh neareſt to his " heart, will always be that which ſhall tend to the comfort and happineſs of " his people: another law, which has reſounded from the centre of the " kingdom to its extreme boundaries, has promiſed us the reſtitution of all " our rights; which we have not loſt, and which we cannot loſe, except in " the exerciſe, ſince the foundation of theſe ſame rights is inalienable and " impreſcriptible. Let us dare therefore to ſhake off the yoke of thoſe antient " prejudices; let us dare to ſpeak all that is true, every thing which is uſe- " ful; let us dare to reclaim the eſſential and primitive rights of man: rea- " ſon, equity, public opinion, the known beneficence of our auguſt Sove- " reign—every thing concurs to aſſure us of the ſucceſs of our mournful " complaints."

" extent

" extent in France beyond any thing known in England " ſince the Revolution, or long parliament of 1640, all is " laid in the duſt, without a rag or remnant being ſpared: * " the importance of theſe, both in influence and revenue, " was ſo great, that the reſult is all but ruin to numbers. " However, as theſe properties were real tyrannies; as " they rendered the poſſeſſion of one ſpot of land ruinous " to all around it—and equally ſubverſive of Agriculture, " and the common rights of mankind, the utter deſtruction " brought on all this ſpecies of property, does not ill de- " ſerve the epithet they are ſo fond of in France; it is a " real regeneration of the people to the privileges of hu- " man nature. No man of common feelings can regret the " fall of that abominable ſyſtem, which made a whole pariſh " ſlaves to the Lord of the Manor. But the effects of the " Revolution have gone much farther; and have been at- " tended with conſequences not equally juſtifiable. The " rents of land which are as legal under the new Govern- " ment as they were under the old, are no longer paid " with regularity. I have been lately informed (Aug. 1791,) " on authority not to be doubted, that aſſociations among

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* " It is to be obſerved that the orders of knighthood were at firſt preſerv- " ed; when the National aſſembly with a forbearance that did them honour, " refuſed to aboliſh thoſe orders, becauſe perſonal, of merit, and not heredi- " tary, they were guilty of one groſs error. They ought immediately to have " addreſſed the King, to inſtitute a new order of knighthood—KNIGHTS OF " THE PLOUGH. There are doubtleſs little ſouls that will ſmile at this, and " think a thiſtle, a garter, or an eagle more ſignificant, and more honourable; " I ſay nothing of orders, that exceed common ſenſe and common chronology, " ſuch as St. Eſprit, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, leaving them to ſuch as " venerate moſt what they leaſt underſtand. But that Prince, who ſhould firſt " inſtitute this order of rural merit, will reap no vulgar honour: Leopold, " whoſe twenty years of ſtudy, and well-earned Tuſcan fame gives him a " good right to do it with propriety, might, as emperor, inſtitute it with " moſt effect. In him, ſuch an action would have in it nothing of affectation. " But I had rather that THE PLOUGH had thus been honoured by a free Aſ- " ſembly. It would have been a trait, that marked the philoſophy of a new " age, and a new ſyſtem.

" tenantry,

" tenantry, to a great amount and extent, have been formed, " even within fifty miles of Paris, for the non-payment of " rent; ſaying, in direct terms, we are ſtrong enough to " detain the rent, and you are not ſtrong enough to enforce " the payment. In a country where ſuch things are poſ- " ſible, property of every kind, it muſt be allowed, is in a " dubious ſituation. Very evil conſequences will reſult from " this; arrears will accumulate too great for landlords to " loſe, or for the peaſants to pay, who will not eaſily be " brought to reliſh that order, and legal Government, " which muſt neceſſarily ſecure theſe arrears to their right " owners. In addition to all the reſt, by the new ſyſtem " of taxation, there is laid a land-tax of 300 millions, or " not to exceed four ſhillings in the pound; but, under " the old Government, their *vingtiemes* did not amount to " the ſeventh part of ſuch an Impoſt. In whatever light, " therefore, the caſe of French landlords is viewed, it will " appear, that they have ſuffered immenſely by the revolu- " tion.—That many of them deſerved it, cannot, however, " be doubted, ſince we ſee their *Cahiers* demanding ſteadily, " that all their feudal rights ſhould be confirmed: * that the " carrying of arms ſhould be ſtrictly prohibited to every " body but noblemen: † that the infamous arrangements of " the Militia ſhould remain on its old footing: ‡ that break- " ing up waſtes, and incloſing commons, ſhould be prohi- " bited: § that the nobility alone ſhould be eligible to enter

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* " *Evreux*, p. 32.—*Bourbonnois*, p. 14.—*Artois*, p. 22.—*Bazas*, p. 8.— " *Nivernois*, p. 7.—*Poitou*, p. 13.—*Saintonge*, p. 5.—*Orleans*, p. 19.— " *Chaumont*, p. 7.

† " *Vermandois*, p. 41.—*Queſnoy*, p. 19.—*Sens*, p. 25.—*Evreux*, p. 36. " *Seſanne*, p. 17.—*Bar ſur ſeine*, p. 6.—*Beauvais*, p. 13.—*Bugey*, p. 34.— " *Clermont Ferand*, p. 11.

‡ " *Limoges*, p. 36.

§ " *Cambray*, p. 19.—*Pont a Mouſſon*, p. 38.

" into the army, church, &c.* that *Lettres de Cachet* ſhould " continue: † that the preſs ſhould not be free: ‡ and, in " fine, that there ſhould be no free corn trade. §

" To the clergy, the revolution has been yet more fatal. " One word will diſpatch this inquiry. The Revolution was " a decided benefit to all the lower clergy of the king- " dom; but it was deſtructive of all the reſt. It is not eaſy " to know what they loſt on the one hand, or what the " National account will gain on the other. Mons. Necker " calculates their revenue at 130,000,000 liv. of which only " 42,500,000 liv. were in the hands of the *Curés* of the " kingdom. Their wealth has been much exaggerated: a " late writer ſays, they poſſeſſed half the kingdom. ¶ Their " number was as little known as their revenue; one writer " makes them 400,000, ‖ another 81,400; ** a third " 80,000. ††

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* " *Lyons*, p. 13.—*Touraine*, p. 31.—*Angoumois*, p. 13.—*Auxerre*, p. 13. " The author of the *Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution*, 8vo. 1792, " ſays, p. 68, " the worſt enemies of nobility have not yet brought to light " any *Cahier*, in which the nobles inſiſted on their excluſive right to military " preferments.—In the ſame page, this Gentleman ſays, it is impoſſible for " any Engliſhman to ſtudy four or five hundred *Cahiers*. It is evident, how- " ever, from this miſtake, how neceſſary it is to examine them before writing " on the Revolution.

† " *Vermandois*, p. 23.—*Chalons-ſur-Marne*, p. 6.—*Gien*, p. 9.

‡ " *Crepy*, p. 10.

§ " *St. Quentin*, p. 9.

¶ " *De l'Autorité de Monteſquieu dans la Revolution preſenté*, 8vo. 1789, " p. 61.

‖ " *Etats generaux convoqués par Louis XVI. par M. Target, prem.* " *ſuite*, p. 7.

** " *Qu' eſt-ce-que le Tiers Etat*, 3d edit. par M. l'Abbé Siéyes, 8vo. " p. 51.

†† " *Bibliotheque de l'homme publique, par M. Condorcet, &c.* tom. iii.

" The

" The clergy in France have been ſuppoſed by many per-
" ſons in England, to merit their fate from their peculiar
" profligacy. But the idea is not accurate: that ſo large a
" body of men, poſſeſſed of very great revenues, ſhould
" be free from vice, would be improbable, or rather impoſ-
" ſible; but they preſerved, what is not always preſerved in
" England, an exterior decency of behaviour.—One did not
" find among them poachers, or foxhunters, who having
" ſpent the morning in ſcampering after hounds, dedicate
" the evening to the bottle, and reel from inebriety to the
" pulpit. Such advertiſements were never ſeen in France,
" as I have heard of in England:—*Wanted a Curacy in a good*
" *ſporting country, where the duty is light, and the neighbourhood*
" *convivial.* The proper exerciſe for a country clergyman,
" is the employment of agriculture, which demands ſtrength
" and activity—and which, vigorouſly followed, will fatigue
" enough to give eaſe its beſt reliſh. A ſportſman parſon
" may be, as he often is in England, a good ſort of man,
" and *an honeſt fellow*; but certainly this purſuit, and the
" reſorting to obſcene comedies, and kicking their heels in the
" jig of an aſſembly, are not the occupations for which we
" can ſuppoſe tythes were given.* Whoever will give any
" attention to the demands of the clergy in their *Cahiers*,
" will ſee that there was on many topics, an ill ſpirit in that
" body. They maintain, for inſtance, that the liberty of
" the preſs ought rather to be reſtrained than extended: †
" that the laws againſt it ſhould be renewed and executed: ‡
" that admiſſion into religious orders ſhould be as formerly

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* " Nothing appears ſo ſcandalous to all the clergy of Europe, as their
" brethren in England dancing at public aſſemblies; and a biſhop's *wife* en-
" gaged in the ſame amuſement, ſeems to them as prepoſterous as a biſhop,
" in his lawn ſleeves, following the ſame diverſion would to us. Probably
" both are wrong.

† " *Saintonge*, p. 24.—*Limoges*, p. 6, &c.

‡ " *Lyons*, p. 13.—*Dourdon*, p. 5.

" at ſixteen years of age: * that *Lettres de Cachet*, are uſeful " and even neceſſary. † They ſolicit to prohibit all divi- " ſion of Commons; ‡ to revoke the edict allowing in- " cloſures; § that the export of corn be not allowed; ¶ " and that public granaries be eſtabliſhed. ‖

" The ill effects of the Revolution have been felt more " ſeverely by the manufacturers of the kingdom, than by " any other claſs of the people. The rivalry of the En- " gliſh fabrics, in 1787, and 1788, was ſtrong and ſucceſs- " ful; and the confuſions that followed in all parts of the " kingdom, had the effect of leſſening the incomes of ſo " many landlords, clergy, and men in public employments; " and ſuch numbers fled from the kingdom, that the general " maſs of the conſumption of national fabrics ſunk perhaps " three fourths. The men whoſe incomes were untouched, " leſſened their conſumption greatly, from an apprehenſion " of the unſettled ſtate of things: the proſpects of a civil " war ſuggeſted to every man, that his ſafety, perhaps his " future bread, depended on the money which he could " hoard. The inevitable conſequence, was, turning abſo- " lutely out of employment immenſe numbers of workmen. " I have in the Diary of the Journey, noticed the infinite " miſery to which I was a witneſs at Lyons, Abbeville, " Amiens, &c.—And by intelligence, I underſtood, that it " was ſtill worſe at Rouen: the fact could not be otherwiſe. " This effect which was abſolute death, by ſtarving many

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* " *Saintonge*, p. 26.—*Montargis*, p. 10.

† " *Limoges*, p. 22.

‡ " *Troyes*, p. 11.

§ " *Metz*, p. 11.

¶ " *Rouen*, p. 24.

‖ " *Laon*, p. 11.—*Dourdon*, p. 17.

" thouſands

" thouſands of families, was a reſult, that, in my opinion, " might have been avoided. It flowed only from carrying " things to extremities—from driving the nobility out of " the kingdom, and ſeizing, inſtead of regulating, the whole " regal authority. Theſe violences were not neceſſary to " Liberty; they even deſtroyed true Liberty, by giving the " Government of the kingdom, in too great a degree to " Paris, and to the populace of every town.

" The effect of the Revolution to the ſmall proprietors of " the kingdom, muſt, according to the common nature of " events, be, *in the end*, remarkably happy; and had the " new Government adopted any principles of taxation, ex- " cept thoſe of the *Oeconomiſtes*, eſtabliſhing at the ſame time " an abſolute freedom in the buſineſs of incloſure, and in the " police of corn, the reſult would probably have been ad- " vantageous, even at this recent period. The committee " of Impoſts * mention (and I doubt not their accuracy,) the " profperity of agriculture, in the ſame page in which they " lament the depreſſion of every other branch of the Na- " tional induſtry. Upon a moderate calculation there re- " mained, in the hands of the claſſes depending on land, on " the account of taxes in the years 1789, and 1790, at leaſt " 300,000,000 liv.; the execution of *Corvées* was as lax " as the payment of taxes. To this we are to add two years " tythe, which I cannot eſtimate at leſs than 300,000,000 " liv. more. The abolition of all feudal rents, and " payments of every ſort during thoſe two years, could " not be leſs than 100,000,000 liv. including ſervices. But " all theſe articles, great as they were, amounting to near " 800,000,000 liv. were leſs than the immenſe ſums that " came into the hands of the farmers by the high price of " corn throughout the year 1789; a price ariſing almoſt en-

* " *Rapport le* 6. *Decembre* 1790, *ſur les moyens de pourvoir aux depenſes* " *pour*, 1791, p. 4.

" tirely

" tirely from Mons. Necker's fine operations in the corn " trade, as it has been proved at large; it is true there is a " deduction to be made on account of the unavoidable di- " minution of conſumption in every article of land produce, " not eſſentially neceſſary to life: every object of luxury, or " tending to it is leſſened greatly. But after this diſcount is " allowed, the balance, in favour of the little proprietor " farmers, muſt be very great. The benefit of ſuch a ſum " being added, as it is to the capital of huſbandry, needs no " explanation. Their agriculture muſt be invigorated by " ſuch wealth—by the freedom enjoyed by its profeſſors; " by the deſtruction of its innumerable ſhackles, and even " by the diſtreſſes of other employments, occaſioning new " and great inveſtments of capital in land: and theſe lead- " ing facts will appear in a clearer light, when the pro- " digious diviſion of landed property in France is well " conſidered; probably half, perhaps two-thirds, of the " kingdom are in the poſſeſſion of little proprietors, who " paid quit-rents, and feudal duties, for the ſpots they " farmed. Such men are placed at once in comparative " affluence; and as eaſe is thus acquired by at leaſt half " the kingdom, it muſt not be ſet down as a point of " trifling importance. Should France eſcape a civil war, " ſhe will, in the proſperity of theſe men, find a reſource " which politicians at a diſtance do not calculate. With " renters, the caſe is certainly different; for, beyond all " doubt, Landlords will, ſooner or later, avail themſelves " of theſe circumſtances, by advancing their rents; acting " in this reſpect as in every other country, is common; " but they will find it impoſſible to deprive the tenantry " of a vaſt advantage, neceſſarily flowing from their eman- " cipation.

" The confuſion, which has ſince ariſen in the finances " owing almoſt entirely to the mode of taxation adopted " by the Aſſembly, has had the effect of continuing to the " preſent moment (1791,) a freedom from all Impoſts to

" the

" the little proprietors, which, however dreadful its general " effects on the National affairs, has tended ſtrongly to en- " rich this claſs.

" The effects of the Revolution, not on any particular " claſs of cultivators, but on agriculture in general, is with " me, I muſt confeſs, very queſtionable; I ſee no benefits " flowing, *particularly* to agriculture (liberty applies equally " to *all* claſſes, and is not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed for " the protection of *property*,) except the caſe of tythes; " but I ſee the riſe of many evils; reſtrictions and prohi- " bitions on the trade of corn—a varying land-tax, and " impeded incloſures, are miſchiefs on *principle*, that may " have a generative faculty; and will prove infinite draw- " backs from the proſperity, which certainly was attain- " able. It is to be hoped that the good ſenſe of the Aſ- " ſembly will reverſe this ſyſtem by degrees; for, if it is " not reverſed, AGRICULTURE CANNOT FLOURISH.

" The effect of the Revolution, on the public revenue, " is one great point on which Mons. de Calonne lays " conſiderable ſtreſs; and it has ſince been urged in France, " that the ruin of 30,000 families, thrown abſolutely out " of employment, and conſequently out of bread, in the " collection of the taxes on ſalt and tobacco only, has had " a powerful influence in ſpreading univerſal diſtreſs and " miſery. The public revenue ſunk, in one year, 175 " millions: this was not a loſs of that ſum; the people to " whom aſſignats were paid on that account loſt no more " than the diſcount; the loſs, therefore, to the people to " whom that revenue was paid, could amount to no more " than from five to ten per cent.* But was it a loſs to

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* " Since this was written, aſſignats fell, in December 1791, and Ja- " nuary 1792, to 34, to 38 per cent. paid in ſilver; and 42 to 50 paid in " gold, ariſing from great emiſſions; from the quantity of private paper iſſu- " ed; from forged ones being common, and from the proſpect of a war.

" the

"the miſerable ſubjects who formerly paid thoſe taxes; "and who paid them by the ſweat of their brows, at the "expence of the bread out of their childrens mouths, aſ- "ſeſſed with tyranny, and levied in blood? Do they feel "a loſs in having 175 millions in their pockets in 1789, "more than they had in 1788? and in poſſeſſing other "175 millions more in 1790, and the inheritance in future? "Is not ſuch a change eaſe, wealth, life, and animation to "thoſe claſſes, who, while the pens of political ſatiriſts "ſlander all innovations, are every moment reviving, by "inheriting from that revolution, ſomething which the old "Government aſſuredly did not give? The revenue of the "clergy may be called the revenue of the public:—thoſe "to whom the difference between the preſent payment of "140 millions, and the old tythes, are a deduction of all "revenue, are, beyond doubt, in great diſtreſs; but what "ſay the farmers throughout the kingdom, from whom the "deteſtable burthen of thoſe taxes was extorted? Do not "they find their culture lightened, their induſtry freed, "their products their own? Go to the Ariſtocratical po- "litician at Paris, or at London, and you hear only of "the ruin of France—go to the cottage of the *Metayer*, or "the houſe of the farmer, and demand of him what the "reſult has been—there will be but one voice from Calais "to Bayonne. If tythes were to be at one ſtroke aboliſhed "in England,* no doubt the clergy would ſuffer, but would "not the Agriculture of the kingdom, with every man "dependent on it, riſe with a vigour never before expe- "rienced?"

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* "It is an error in France to ſuppoſe, that the revenue of the church "is ſmall in England. The Royal Society of Agriculture at Paris, ſtates that "revenue at 210,000l.; it cannot be ſtated at leſs than five millions "ſterling. *Mem. preſenté par la S. R. d'Ag. a l'Aſſemblée Nationale*, 1789, "p. 52.—One of the greateſt and wiſeſt men we have in England, perſiſts "in aſſerting it to be *much leſs*, than two millions. From very numerous "inquiries, which I am ſtill purſuing, I have reaſon to believe this opinion "to be founded on inſufficient data."

Young's

Young's Travels, p. 550.

" The means of making a Government reſpected and be-
" loved are, in England, obvious; taxes muſt be immenſely
" reduced; aſſeſſments on malt, leather, candles, ſoap, ſalt,
" and windows, muſt be aboliſhed or lightened; the funding
" ſyſtem, the parent of taxation, annihilated for ever, by
" taxing the intereſt of the public debt—the Conſtitution,
" that admits a debt, carries in its vitals the ſeeds of its de-
" ſtruction: tythes * and teſts aboliſhed; the repreſenta-
" tion of Parliament reformed; and its duration ſhortened;
" not to give the people, without property, a predominancy,
" but to prevent that corruption, in which our debts and
" taxes have originated; the utter deſtruction of all mo-
" nopolies; and among them of all charters and corpora-
" tions; game made property, and belonging to the poſſeſſor
" of one acre, as much as to him, who has a thouſand; and,
" laſtly, the laws, both criminal and civil, to be thoroughly
" reformed. Theſe circumſtances include the great evils of
" the Britiſh Conſtitution; if they be remedied, it may enjoy
" even a Venetian longevity; but if they be allowed, like
" cancerous humours, to prey on the nobler parts of the
" political ſyſtem, this boaſted fabric may not exiſt even
" twenty years."

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* " The exaction of tythes is ſo abſurd and tyrannical an attack on the
" property of mankind, that it is almoſt impoſſible for them to continue in
" any country in the world half a century longer. To pay a man by force
" 1000l. a year, for doing by deputy what would be much better done for
" 100l. is too groſs an impoſition to be endured. To levy that 1000l. in
" the moſt pernicious method that can wound both property and liberty, are
" circumſtances congenial to the tenth century, but not to the eighteenth.
" Italy, France, and America, have ſet noble examples for the imitation of
" mankind; and thoſe countries, that do not follow them, will ſoon be as
" inferior in cultivation as they are in policy."

Young's Travels, p. 556.

" The groſs abuſe which has been thrown on the French " nation, and particularly on their aſſemblies, in certain " pamphlets, and without interruption, in ſeveral of our " newſpapers, ought to be deprecated by every man who " feels for the future intereſts of this country. It is in ſome " inſtances carried to ſo ſcandalous an exceſs, that we muſt " neceſſarily give extreme diſguſt to thouſands of people, " who may hereafter have an ample opportunity to vote and " act under the influence of impreſſions unfavourable towards " a country that, unprovoked, has loaded them with ſo " much contumely: for a nation groaning under a debt of " 240 millions, that deadens the very idea of future energy, " this ſeems, to uſe the mildeſt language, to be at leaſt, very " imprudent."

Very important hints theſe! How admirably Mr. Young has attended to them, may be ſeen in *The Example of France a Warning to Britain!*

April 26, 1792.

Young's Travels, p. 565.

" In the laſt moment which the preparation for publica- " tion allows me to uſe, the intelligence is arrived of a de- " claration of war on the part of France againſt the Houſe " of Auſtria. The Gentlemen in whoſe company I hear " it, all announce deſtruction to France; *they will be* " *beat*; *they want diſcipline*; *they have no ſubordination*; and " this idea I find general. So cautiouſly as I have avoided " *prophetic* preſumption through the preceding pages, I ſhall " ſcarcely aſſume it ſo late in my labours; but thus " much I may venture, that the expectation of deſtruction to " France has many difficulties to encounter. Give all you " pleaſe to the power of field evolution—depending on the " utmoſt ſtrictneſs of diſcipline—you muſt admit, that it

" bears

" bears only on the queſtion of battles. But guarded as
" France is, by the moſt important frontier fortreſſes the
" world knows, why hazard battles? Undiſciplined troops
" behind walls and within *works*, are known on experience
" to be effective; and where are the reſources to be found
" that ſhall attack thoſe ſtrong holds 700 miles from home?
" I was at Liſle, Metz, and Straſbourg; and if the mili-
" tary intelligence I had was accurate, it would demand
" 100,000 men, completely provided with every thing for a
" ſiege, three months, to take either of thoſe towns, ſup-
" poſing them well provided and well defended. We know,
" on poſitive experience, what the Auſtrians and Pruſſians,
" led by ſome of the greateſt men that have exiſted, were
" able to do in ſieges, when undertaken at their own doors;
" what will they effect againſt places ten times as ſtrong,
" and 700 miles from home? It is a matter of calculation;
" of pounds and ſhillings; not of diſcipline and obedience.

" But many depend on the deranged ſtate of the French
" finances; that derangement flows abſolutely from a vain
" attempt at preſerving public credit:—the National Aſſem-
" bly will ſee its futility; miſery; ruin; the NATION muſt
" be preſerved.—What, on compariſon, is *public credit?*

" The diviſions, factions, and internal diſturbances, offer
" to others the hope of a civil war. It ought to be a vain
" hope. During peace, ſuch difficulties fill the papers, and
" and are dwelt upon, till men are apt to think them terri-
" ble; in war they are TREASON, and the gallows ſweeps
" from the world, and the columns of a Gazette the
" actors and the recital.

" Oil and vinegar—fire and water—Pruſſians and Auſtri-
" ans are united to carry war amongſt twenty-ſix millions of
" men, arranged behind a hundred of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes
" in the world. If we are deceived, and Frenchmen are not
" fond of freedom, but will fight for deſpotiſm—ſomething

" may be done; for then France falls by the power of " France; but if united but tolerably, the attack will be " full of difficulties in a country where every man, woman, " and child is an enemy, that fights for freedom.

" But, ſuppoſe this idea erroneous—ſuppoſe an impreſſion " made—and that the German banners were flying at Paris— " Where is the ſecurity of the reſt of Europe: Is the diviſion " of Poland forgotten? Is an unforeſeen union of two or three " great powers to protrude through Europe, a predominancy " dangerous to all? Gentlemen, who indulge their wiſhes " for a counter-revolution in France, do not, perhaps, wiſh " to ſee the Pruſſian colours at the Tower, nor the Auſtrian " at Amſterdam. Yet ſucceſs to the cauſe might plant them " there. Should real danger ariſe to France, which I hold " to be problematical, it is the buſineſs, and direct intereſt " of her neighbours, to ſupport her.

" The revolution and anti-revolution parties of England, " have exhauſted themſelves on the French queſtion,—But " there can be none, if that people ſhould be in danger; " we hold at preſent the balance of the world; and have but " to ſpeak, and it is ſecure."

I have ſought in vain for this laſt quotation in the SECOND EDITION of Mr. Young's Travels.—

Many other paſſages equally excellent might be ſelected from Mr. YOUNG'S WORK, which I ſhould with pleaſure have preſented to the reader, and contraſted with, *The Example of France a Warning to Britain.* But I forbear—Major Cartwright, that honeſt man, and ſteady friend to freedom, is preparing a work for the preſs, which, I underſtand, will include ſome remarks on the inconſiſtencies of Mr. Young.

As the evils attendant on the preſent calamitous war were clearly foreſeen by the friends to Reform, and as they made every

effort, in their power, to prevent this country from engaging in ſo abſurd and ruinous a conteſt, it may not be improper to conclude this work with laying before the reader the following documents, in which theſe important facts cannot paſs unobſerved: 1ſt. That the expences of the year 1794 exceeded thoſe of the year 1793 nearly ſeven millions ſterling; and, 2dly, that in the year 1794, whilſt our expences were increaſing, our revenue (excluding the ſum paid by the Eaſt-India Company) was diminiſhing; which is the more to be lamented, as we formerly had weekly accounts given of the exceſs of the Revenue above the expenditure.

Similar obſervations were made during the war with America; the truth of which we now feel by the annual payment of taxes to the amount of conſiderably more than five millions ſterling, in conſequence of that unwiſe, unjuſt, and unneceſſary undertaking. What additional burthens we ſhall be compelled to bear from the expences of the war in which we are at preſent engaged, it would be difficult to ſtate. This, however, may with truth be aſſerted, that enormous as the expences of the year 1794 appear, they will be found to have greatly exceeded the eſtimate. What the expences of the next year will be, the mind can ſcarcely form an idea of; a bargain *being already concluded*, for a loan of twenty-four millions; eighteen millions of which are for this country, and ſix millions for *one* of our allies, the Emperor of Germany.

Enormous as theſe ſums are, and heavily as the additional taxes will be felt, which muſt be laid for the payment of the intereſt, yet the unconſtitutional manner in which this bargain has been made, by the queſtion of war being determined *before* the meeting of Parliament, ought to be matter of more ſerious alarm to every thinking mind. But, were I to proceed, I ſhould enter on a ſubject ſo ſerious and extenſive, that I ſhould only begin where I mean to end; more eſpecially

cially were I to take into conſideration the numerous evils under which the commercial intereſt of this country labours; but, I fear, they are ſo grievouſly felt, that even had I leiſure, any obſervations upon that ſubject would be ſuperfluous.

I ſhall only add, that in the year 1775, at the commencement of the American war, our national debt was one hundred and thirty-eight millions. I am informed, and from the moſt reſpectable authority, that, including the *unfunded* debt, it is now nearly three hundred and twenty millions, and were peace to be concluded to-morrow, it would be found upon the ſettlement of the public accounts, that in leſs than the laſt twenty years our national debt has been increaſed two hundred millions, which have burthened the people of this country with additional taxes to the amount of nearly ten millions ſterling annually.

BUDGET IN 1793.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
Permanent taxes, including ſtamps, exciſe, cuſtoms, and incidents	14,284,194	Charges on the conſolidated fund for civil liſt, payment of principal and intereſt of debt, &c. &c.	12,072,626
Land and malt tax, taken at	2,750,000	Deficiency of grants	222,325
	17,034,194	Deficiency of land and malt tax	350,000
Deficiency, made up by a loan of 6½ millions of 3 per cents.	4,520,642	Navy debt 3,971,915	
		Army and militia 3,968,558	
		Ordnance 793,568	
		Miſcellaneous ſervices 175,844	
			8,909,885
	£. 21,554,836		£. 21,554,836

BUDGET IN 1794.

INCOME,		EXPENDITURE.	
Permanent taxes	13,974,000	Charges on the conſolidated fund for civil liſt, payment of principal and intereſt of debt, &c, &c.	11,797,000
Land and malt tax, taken at	2,750,000	Deficiency of grants , ...	474,000
Eaſt India Company . . .	500,000	Deficiency of land and malt tax	350,000
	17,224,000	Exchequer bills, in addition to thoſe already iſſued	2,000,000
Deficiency, made up by a loan of 11 millions of 3 per cents. 2½ millions of 4 per cents. and £. 62,791 13s. 4d. per ann. Long Annuities	11,013,000	Addition to the Sinking Fund .	200,000
		Navy 5,525,000	
		Army . . . , . . . 6,340,000	
		Ordnance 1,345,000	
		Miſcellaneous ſervices 206,000	
			13,416,000 *
	£. 28,237,000		£. 28,237,000

* The *Peace* Eſtabliſhment from 1786 to 1792 was on an average 5½ Millions annually.

DEBT

DEBT CONTRACTED SINCE DECEMBER, 1792;

(That is, in Two Years only)

Supposing the different Stocks in which it has been funded to be converted into Three per Cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities.

	Stock in the 3 per Cents.
17¼ Millions 3 per Cents. borrowed in the beginning of the years 1793 and 1794	17,250,000
2¾ Millions 4 per Cents. borrowed in the beginning of 1794	3,634,600
£.62,792 per Ann. Long Annuities, borrowed in the beginning of 1794	1,949,600
18 Millions in the 3 per Cents. proposed to be borrowed in the present month of December	18,000,000
6 Millions in the 4 per Cents. ditto	7,929,900
£. 112,500 per Ann. Long Annuities, ditto	3,492,900
	52,257,000

N.B. The three last articles are to make up the present intended loan of EIGHTEEN MILLIONS STERLING.

£.1,949,330 Navy Bills funded in the 5 per Cents. this year, which converted into 3 per Cents.	3,144,000
Proposed Loan to the Emperor, of 6 Millions *Sterling*, guaranteed by Parliament, and most probably to be ultimately paid by this country, converted into 3 per Cents.	9,677,409
Total	65,078,400

The *increase* of the *unfunded* debt should be also added to this sum, which will, no doubt, make it to exceed 70 Millions!

In

In the courſe of the laſt eight years about 14 millions of three per cent. Stock have been redeemed—and this has been done, not by any ſurplus of Revenue, but by a Loan of one Million by the way of Tontine—by collecting the arrears of taxes in the receiver's hands, by the aſſiſtance of Lotteries,—of the arrears due from the Eaſt-India Company—of caſh remaining in the Exchequer in the beginning of the year 1786—of impreſt monies—of unclaimed dividends in the Bank and South Sea Annuities, &c. &c.

N. B. Upon the 11th of March 1793, the Houſe of Commons having reſolved itſelf into a Committee of Supply, Mr. Pitt, in his ſpeech "obſerved, that after every other reſource, there "would be wanting a Loan of 2,900,000*l.* He had not "then made any propoſals as to the terms of the Loan, "BECAUSE HE CONSIDERED IT AS A PREVIOUS "DUTY, TO SUBMIT THIS STATEMENT TO THE "PUBLIC, IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY THING, "WHICH MIGHT HAVE THE APPEARANCE OF DE-"CEPTION." New Annual Regiſter for 1793, p. 78.

December 15, 1794.

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